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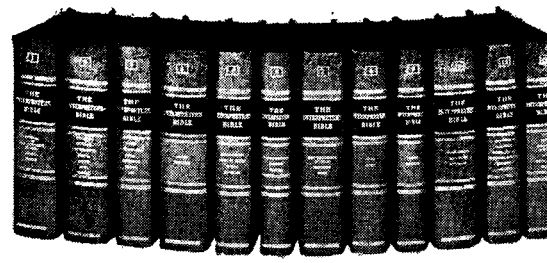

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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Irwin Edman

WHEN A TRUE VOICE is stilled, one little relishes chirping in its place—even in tribute. And so, wanting somehow to express here our sense of loss and our thanks to Irwin Edman, I turned to his own words, written a few short weeks before his death and printed in this issue in the department called *Under Whatever Sky*, which has been his in every number since its inception in the Spring of 1945.

And there I found (as you will find), to my surprise, intimations of what has happened. Nothing could be more inappropriate, in writing of that dry, bubbling intelligence, spring of wit and irony and true sensibility, than to attribute to it sentimental forebodings, mystical or intuitive apprehensions of a morbid kind. Nor do I mean anything of the sort—but rather simply that in these pages you will find allusions and references to death that suggest, at the least, that he had turned his face in that direction and fixed there his clear, perceptive gaze.

He writes of first things and last, first times and last, and says how seldom one realizes at such occasions their significance: "Nor, as a matter of fact, with respect to either personal or public events, does one often remotely know that this is the end. One leaves a friend in perfect health and the next day one hears he is dead." And a little farther on in his column, he quotes Edna St. Vincent Millay's address to Persephone over a friend who has just died:

> Say to her, "My dear, my dear,
> It is not so dreadful here."

When I turn back to the very first column he wrote for THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, I read his endorsement of the feeling that "serenity can come only from seeing events in that light of eternity

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which is commonly called philosophy." It is my simple conviction that Irwin Edman thought and lived in that light.

He was "a master of the ready word"; he loved and practiced the intellectual quip, the ironic twist, the epigram, the gay and charming turn of phrase. An apt parodist, with an extraordinary memory and the gift of the raconteur, he could often make a half-hour's monologue delightful. Yet, as he once wrote, "The true master can in a few words speak volumes"—and the quick but courteous retort, the brief gay sally, were equally characteristic of him.

Still, for some curious reason, many people assume that such a man, such a mind, may not be profound. I have heard professional philosophers and others drag in this tired comment, "Edman is light and popular; he is not a serious philosopher or scholar." This is a facile and, I think, foolish judgment. But a sour puritanical dislike of the lighthearted is a part (thank God, not a decisive part) of the Anglo-American heritage.

Only those who, like Irita Van Doren, have known him long and cherished him have the true measure, I believe. She writes, "He had the most extraordinary gift for making difficult and abstruse matters clear and simple to the layman." His writing, his teaching, his conversation—all illustrate this gift.

No true friend of Irwin Edman's can blink the fact that he was not, in the conventional sense, a devout or pious man. Yet I think of him as a genuinely religious man of a humanistic faith, and one who stood courageously by this faith in the face of whatever disapproval, opposition or danger.

Moreover, in this last installment of *Under Whatever Sky*, he concludes his account of first and last times with these words: "I have good authority for believing that in larger matters it is simply world without end." And therefore I feel, as it were, his amused blessing when I say that I am sure he will not need Persephone to comfort him. For fourteen years he sat among us, dispensing challenge, cheer and wisdom; and I more than half-believe that he sits now at a higher board, with Socrates and Voltaire and Montaigne, perhaps with his old loved masters, Santayana and Dewey. I think I can see them rise as he comes, and they are saying "Welcome."

Hiram Haydn

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Lord Melbourne and the Young Victoria

DAVID CECIL

IN THE MIDDLE OF MAY, 1837, political circles in London were thrown into fresh agitation by an unforeseen event. King William IV fell dangerously ill. After several weeks hovering between life and death, he breathed his last in the early hours of June 20. At nine o'clock of the same morning the Prime Minister, in the full-dress uniform of a Privy Councillor, arrived at Kensington Palace to pay his respects to the new Queen. He was ushered into a small room, where he found himself alone in the presence of a round-cheeked, blue-eyed little figure dressed very plainly in deep mourning, who with an air at once childish and regal held out her hand for him to kiss. In artless words and a sweet, clear treble she told Melbourne that she wished him and his colleagues to continue in office, and then listened with attention while he read to her the speech he had written for her to make later in the morning to the Privy Council. He asked if she would like to be supported by the chief officers of her realm on entering the room at this her first public appearance as a sovereign. The Queen replied, at once and with composure, "No"; she preferred to come in alone. Melbourne then kissed her hand again and withdrew. A short time before the Council, he returned in case she wanted any further advice as to how to conduct herself at it. He need hardly have bothered. Once or twice the Queen was observed to look inquiringly at her Prime Minister as if in doubt what to do next; but, for the most part, she

✪ LORD DAVID CECIL, a great-great-great-nephew of Viscount Melbourne, is the author of *The Stricken Deer*, a life of Cowper; two books of criticism, *Early Victorian Novelists* and *Hardy the Novelist*; and *Two Quiet Lives*, short biographies of Thomas Gray and Dorothy Osborne. He is now Goldsmith Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Oxford. This excerpt from *Melbourne*, copyright 1939, 1954, is used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.

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amazed all beholders by the modest and graceful self-possession with which, in the face of a large and august audience, she went through the stately ceremonies of her inauguration. After dinner that night Melbourne came back once more for an hour's leisurely talk with her. "I had a very important and very *comfortable* conversation with him," wrote the Queen in her diary that evening.

It was to be the first of many such. The eighteen-year-old Queen needed someone to instruct her as to how to conduct herself in her new and difficult role. In the ordinary way this would have been done by some responsible and experienced person appointed as confidential secretary for the purpose. It was not easy, however, to find the right man; for if he were intelligent enough for the work, he was likely to have ideas of his own about political affairs which might well conflict with those of the Government. The last thing Melbourne wanted was an independent power behind the throne. Nor did he intend, if he could help it, that the new monarch should be as hostile to the Government as the old had been. All these considerations made him decide to take on the secretary's work himself. This meant that he saw the Queen constantly. He visited her at least twice a day: she saw him alone in her own private sitting room where she received no other visitor. They communicated also by letter; he wrote to her and she wrote to him sometimes as often as three times a day. Three or four times a week, at least, he dined. Whoever the guests might be, Melbourne sat on the Queen's left, and after dinner she spent most of her time talking to him. A month or two later she went to take up residence at Windsor. But this change did not mean any break in their association. Melbourne wrote as often as ever and at greater length. He also went down to stay. There, in addition to the daily conference and evening relaxation with each other, he would accompany her out riding. Altogether it can be calculated that in these first years of her reign, Melbourne spent four or five hours of every day talking or writing to his royal mistress. No doubt he felt it his duty to do so; but he was not the man to carry out a duty so rigorously if it went against his inclinations. As a matter of fact, all his inclinations were in its favor; what had begun as a duty very soon turned into an intense pleasure. These months saw the birth and quick maturing of the

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most precious personal relationship that he had known since the first happy days of his marriage thirty-two years before.

It was a very different sort of relationship. For apart from their unlikeness in age and situation, the two women involved were so different. The young Queen's personality, however, was just as compelling as his wife's had been, and, in its own way, as exceptional. Not that she was complex or eccentric. On the contrary, her simple and formidable character was compounded of a few basic and universal elements. By nature she was almost all the things that the typical woman is alleged to be by those who have the temerity to generalize on the subject: instinctive, personal, unintellectual, partisan, interested in detail, viewing things in the concrete rather than the abstract, and with a profound natural reverence for the secure and the respectable. With these common qualities of her sex, the Queen possessed also those of her age. Like most of the eighteen-year-old girls who were her subjects, she was innocent and enthusiastic, enjoyed dancing and dress, set store by anniversaries and mementos and celebrations, blushed and burst out laughing, bubbled over with sentiment for her pet dog and her old home—and not in any particularly refined or rarefied way. Though regal, she was not aristocratic as the English understand the term. The healthy, homely German blood which coursed through her veins had imparted a commonplace, even a bourgeois tinge to her taste. But if her nature was normal, her character was not. It was too abnormally high-powered, for one thing. Her enjoyments were more rapturous than the average girl's, her sentimentality more unbridled, her interest in detail more inexhaustible, her partisanship more violent, her innocence more dewy. Some strain in her—once again it may have come from Germany—had endowed her with an extravagant force of temperament, so that the ordinary in her was magnified to a degree where it became extraordinary.

To this startling fervor of feeling she added a startling simplicity of vision. Through her childlike eyes she saw the world as naively, literally and absolutely as a child. All facts came fresh to her. "To hear the people speaking German and to see the German soldiers etc. seemed to me so singular," she notes a year or two later on her

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first visit to Germany. Her judgments were as simple as her vision. They were often shrewd, but never subtle and never tentative. Her mind was incapable of entertaining a doubt or a half shade. Things were frivolous or serious, sad or cheerful, right or wrong—particularly right or wrong. Childish vision went along with a child's ruthless, unsleeping moralism, and its ruthless candor, too. As a little girl, it was noticed that, though rebellious and passionate, the Princess could always be trusted to be rigidly truthful. At eighteen she was just as incapable of simulating a feeling or telling a lie. As she spoke, so she acted. The most formidably extreme of all her extreme qualities was her strength of character. Here she was not childish, nor feminine—if indeed weakness be a feminine characteristic. No one was ever less the creature of whim or vacillating impulse. Once she had made up her mind what she ought to do, she adhered inflexibly to it, however hard it might be for her and whether other people liked it or not. It was not in her to compromise. If other people were wrong, it would be wrong of her to give in to them.

The peculiarities of her nature had been sharpened by the circumstances of her upbringing. Her mother, the Duchess of Kent, suspicious and jealous of her royal in-laws, was determined that her daughter should not fall under their influence. The result was that the Princess spent her childhood in a strange, conventual seclusion, almost entirely in the company of women—notably her mother and her governess, Baroness Lehzen—who regulated and supervised every hour of her day. She was never allowed to be alone; she slept in her mother's room; whenever she went up and down stairs, someone held her hand; if she kept a diary, it had always to be shown to Lehzen. Very few grown-up visitors came to the house; and except for the daughter of her mother's secretary, or on the rare occasions when her German cousins came to stay, she did not have the chance of playing with other children. No window on the ordinary, humdrum world was ever opened to let a whiff of fresh air into the soft, stifling atmosphere of meticulous feminine triviality and gushing feminine emotion which pervaded Kensington Palace.

But if her childhood was secluded, it was not obscure. As the

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future Queen of England, the Princess realized that she was a personage of unequaled importance and, as such, treated differently from other children. People did not bow and curtsy to other children; other children were not taught singing and dancing, as she was, by the most famous public performers in the world; other children were not prepared for confirmation by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. And with the glory of great position she was early introduced to its troubles. Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown, says the poet; and the head destined for a crown is hardly more comfortable. For four years before her accession, the Princess was the center of a continuous turmoil of intrigue and conflict. There was the conflict between the King and her mother. The Duchess of Kent, a short, stout, foolish woman, rustling self-importantly about in velvet and ostrich plumes, was intoxicated by the idea of herself as mother to a future monarch, all the more because she considered she had never been treated by the English royal family with the respect due to her. Accordingly, at the same time that she strove to keep her daughter from them, she was always making efforts to bring her into prominence on her own; she demanded that the Fleet should fire a salute in her daughter's honor when she was at the seaside, and paraded her round the country on official visits without getting the King's permission. She also intrigued with disaffected politicians, notably Durham, with the vague idea of creating a sort of Princess' party in Parliament. The irascible William IV reacted violently against these proceedings of his sister-in-law. He forbade the Navy to fire a salute and incessantly abused the Duchess to his ministers. On one of the rare occasions when she paid him a visit, he suddenly rose at the end of dinner and denounced her to the company in unmeasured and naval terms for deliberately keeping his beloved niece from him. The poor little Princess burst into tears of embarrassment. Thus early was she aware of herself as a bone of contention.

The King was not the only person trying to get control over her. Her uncle Leopold, King of the Belgians, was a far-sighted statesman well aware of the political advantages of having a niece on the throne of powerful England. At his visits, therefore, and in a series

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of letters in which political advice, pious aspirations and demonstrations of high-flown affection were artfully blended, he sought to get her under his influence. The Princess did not resent this, for Uncle Leopold was always tactful; but she realized that his views were not always the same as her mother's or her Uncle William's and that she must be careful how far she committed herself to them. This added another complication to the already complex situation in which she found herself.

There was a more disturbing complication to face nearer home. Life at Kensington Palace, to outward appearance so tranquil, was in reality a scene of strife. On the one side stood the Duchess and her confidential secretary, Sir John Conroy, an intriguing vulgarian who saw in his position the means to advancement. He had found the friendless Duchess an easy prey, and she soon became completely dominated by him. It was he who instigated her progresses and political *démarches*. Opposed to him was Baroness Lehzen, who rightly thought that his activities were not in the best interests of her royal charge. Her hostility was sharpened by the fact that Conroy together with the Duchess' maid of honor, Lady Flora Hastings, made fun of her German passion for caraway seeds. Friction between the two factions cooped up together in the segregated palace was continuous, and, though the occasions of dispute were trifling enough, they were the symptoms of a bitter animosity which poisoned the whole atmosphere the young Princess breathed.

Such an upbringing, at once so strictly regulated and so emotionally disturbed, would have crushed an ordinary girl. It served to reveal that the Princess was very far from ordinary, for her character only gained strength from the ordeal. All the same, it profoundly affected her. On the one hand, the fact that she was so cut off from the world increased her naïveté. On the other, consciousness of her royal position increased her innate self-confidence. She took for granted that it was her natural right to be obeyed. So far, education had served to intensify the qualities with which she was born. But it also curiously modified them. The quarrels and hidden plots of which she found herself the center undermined her sense of security, so that the spontaneous candor of her nature

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was checked and she became cautious and distrustful. Distrustful, too, of the person with whom a child should feel safest—of her own mother! For the Princess did not take the Duchess of Kent's side in her endless quarrels. William IV had been kind to her; now and again she complained violently that she was not allowed to see more of her uncle. About Conroy she felt even more strongly. Indeed, she actually hated him, and her hatred chilled any affection which she may have had for her mother. What made her feel so strongly on the subject is mysterious. Scandal had it that Conroy and the Duchess were lovers and that the Princess had discovered them in each other's arms. There is no certain evidence for this sensational story. What is more sure is that the Duchess and Conroy did plot to have the Princess' time for coming of age delayed so that, should William IV die while she was still in her teens, the Duchess might become Regent, with Conroy as the power behind the throne. If the Princess found this out, it was quite enough to put her into a passion of righteous wrath. Anyway, whatever the cause, for two or three years she had been forced to live on outwardly submissive and affectionate terms with people she distrusted and disliked. The consequence was that, continually on her guard and unable to give voice to the angry emotions that boiled within her, she had employed all her extraordinary power of will in teaching herself to be precociously self-controlled, precociously prudent and precociously secretive. Since she was incapable of saying what she did not think, she learned to say nothing at all and to bide her time. Altogether, nature and circumstances had combined to make the eighteen-year-old girl who ascended to the throne of England in July, 1837, an extraordinary and paradoxical mixture, blending a child's simplicity and a child's uninhibited violence of feeling with the self-command of a mature woman and the unhesitating authority of a born monarch.

This last quality showed itself at once, and alarmingly. "Since it has pleased providence to place me in this situation," runs the entry in her diary on the day of her accession, "I shall do my utmost to fulfil my duty toward my country; I am very young and perhaps in many, though not all things, inexperienced. But I am

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sure that very few have more real good will and more real desire to do what is fit and right than I have." There was no doubt in her mind that one particular course of action was fit and right. It was all over for the Duchess of Kent and her schemes. Already, when William IV lay dying, the Princess had taken the opportunity to have a blazing row about Conroy with her mother, with the result that the Duchess for the last time asserted her parental rights and locked her daughter up in her room. It was foolish of her; she always was foolish. On her accession the Queen took action. Conroy was given a pension but banished from her presence, and the Duchess put firmly in her place. She asked, so the story runs, if there was anything she could do for her daughter. "I should like to be left alone," replied the Queen. Not only did she order that her bed should be removed out of the Duchess' room at once, but also she had dinner by herself. However, she did not attempt to rely completely on her own resources. Instinctively she looked about for someone to guide her steps through the unknown world in which she found herself. This came partly from consciousness of her own inexperience, but still more from her extreme femininity, a femininity which made her, for all her strength of will, the reverse of independent-minded in coming to a judgment on general and impersonal matters. The fact that she was a woman also meant that she sought for her guide among the male sex. For the time being, indeed, sex in its extreme manifestations was latent in her. She was emotionally at the schoolgirl stage, looking less for a lover than for a hero, for some wise, benignant, fatherly figure on whom she could pour out all her youthful capacity for admiration. Other girls find such a man in some sympathetic schoolmaster or kindly clergyman; Queen Victoria found it in her Prime Minister.

Indeed, no one could have filled the role better. For in addition to being wise and benignant, he was also extremely handsome, an accomplished master in the art of pleasing women, and one of the most fascinating talkers in Europe. As a matter of fact, the Queen does not seem wholly to have realized how much of his attraction for her was due to these less serious qualities. In her diary she harps on his moral virtues: "A most truly honest, straightforward and noble minded man," she notes. "There are not many like him

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in this world of deceit." Above all, not Sir John Conroy, she implies! And certainly after Conroy it must have been pleasant to deal with someone who was a gentleman in the highest sense of that old-fashioned word. But all Melbourne's virtues could not have made the impression on her that they did had they not been enhanced by his dark, charming eyes, his virile elegance and his light, ironic sweetness. After all, it was soon to appear that she much preferred him to the praiseworthy Sir Robert Peel, as in later years she was to prefer Disraeli to Gladstone. These are not the sentiments of one who, whatever her avowed principles, does in fact set solemn, conscientious virtue above the charms and the graces. Perhaps, like many of the professionally respectable, Queen Victoria felt unexpectedly exhilarated by the company of those who looked on the moral law in a more light-hearted spirit than she was able to do herself. Whatever the reason, Melbourne did exactly satisfy the Queen's emotional needs at this phase in her development. He became the object of her schoolgirl hero worship; and this, like everything else about her, was more single-mindedly extreme than an ordinary schoolgirl could feel. He was equally drawn to her. At this time there was no woman in his life, and he could not do without one. No longer, however, did he wish to take on the role of lover, even in the most platonic sense of the word; he was too old. On the other hand, with age, his frustrated paternal instinct more and more felt the need of an outlet. He had reached the stage in life when a man of his type tends to turn to a daughter for emotional satisfaction, to someone to whom he can be a mentor—Melbourne had always liked being a mentor—and on whom he can lavish a tenderness that involves none of the ardors and tempests inseparable from most love affairs. The Queen supplied his requirements. Artless youth had always appealed to him, and in this instance its attraction was enhanced by worldly position. A young queen is in herself a romantic personage, especially to a man with Melbourne's imaginative sense of the poetry of history. Exquisitely he appreciated the incongruous contrast provided by the childish figure and the august, venerable role it was called upon to play. Moreover, apart from her age and her situation, the Queen's character was one in itself to attract him. In most ways, no

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doubt, she was wonderfully unlike most of the women he had known. But she did share with them the distinctive temperamental quality which had always appealed to him in women: the vitality, the positiveness, the high-hearted, unhesitating response to life which were at once an entertainment to his own subtle, melancholy skepticism and also its needed antidote. She added to them also an innocent straightforwardness which the other women in his life had not provided and which was infinitely refreshing to a spirit wearied and disillusioned by over fifty years' experience of the great world. "She is the honestest person I have ever known," he had once said. "The only difficulty is to make her see that you cannot always go straight forward; that you must go round about sometimes." Finally, he responded to her charm. For the Queen had charm, especially at the age of eighteen before the soft contours of her immature character had been hardened by care and power: the charm of her ingenuousness and her dignity, her literalness and her enthusiasm, her composure and her unself-consciousness, her childish gravity and her childlike sense of fun, all mingling together in a comical, delicious Alice-in-Wonderland blend. Melbourne had the trained taste to savor its quality to the full. The Queen amused him and touched him and stirred his admiration and won his heart. For though his feeling for her was not so rapturous and unbridled as was hers for him, yet it went far deeper. He had been born with an intense gift for affection, but it had been starved of its proper fulfillment during a lifetime, so that now, with a reckless completeness, he poured it all out on her. At once his sovereign, his daughter and the last love of his life, Queen Victoria inspired Melbourne with a sentiment tenderer if not more vehement than he had ever felt before.

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Per Legem Terrae

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD

WE HAVE BEEN RECENTLY PASSING through what may be regarded as a period of anti-intellectualism in this country. In such times, it is fitting for scholars to consider their relation to the rest of the world. It is well for us now to remember that these periods of anti-intellectualism are recurrent in the history of our country and probably of the world. And it is well to remember, too, that they are not without a cause. Intellectualism is not the only useful or constructive factor in a society. Scholars are sometimes arrogant, and sometimes too withdrawn and aloof from the world to be useful, or at least to be understood. There are some lines from Mr. T. S. Eliot's latest play, *The Confidential Clerk*, which may be appropriate here:

> What's surprising, well-bred people
> Are sometimes far from intellectual;
> And—what's less surprising—intellectual people
> Are often ill-bred.

Within wide limits, the capacity for scholarship may well be thought of as a public trust. Many scholars, in one way or another, devote their efforts to the common good and contribute to the progress of mankind. And the scholar, besides being a servant of his fellows, should be a humble man, for he is in a position to know how little he knows and how much more there is to be done just to hold our own, to say nothing of moving ahead.

Per legem terrae—"by the law of the land"—these words go back to Magna Carta, the Great Charter of 1215, wrested from King John by his barons, and the source of ideas far more potent than they could have realized. For the barons were interested in protecting themselves against an overbearing king, and had little inter-

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est in the basic rights of common men. In the thirty-ninth article of Magna Carta, apparently taken from an earlier Continental source, they included the provision that "no freeman shall be taken and imprisoned or disseised or exiled or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor send upon him, except by the lawful judgment of his peers and by the law of the land." This last phrase has had an almost unexampled persistence and power. Professor McIlwain has said, "Chapter thirty-nine was in 1215 the most important chapter in the charter, as it is today."

Thus there was planted in the stream of English law and English history—a stream of which we are now the largest branch—the seed of a great idea, an idea which has made an incalculable contribution to the development of our institutions. Just a few words, but they have time and again arisen at critical moments of our history and in one way or another have contributed to that long course of events through which we have sought to make ourselves civilized.

Do I not exaggerate? "By the law of the land"—can these words have such great significance? Are they not merely procedural at best? Historians have long debated the exact meaning of the various clauses in Magna Carta. One leading author has said that what the barons "wished to secure was justice and legality in all of the king's actions affecting private rights."

We have seen how and when the idea was planted. How did it grow? In the next century, legislation under Edward III made it clear that the protection of the article applied to every man without limitation—"of what estate or condition that he be." And it was this same statute of Edward III that for the first time used the phrase which has become commonplace in our own history, for it said that no man should be harmed in any way except "by due process of law."

Over the next three hundred years, many men, at many times, appealed to the Great Charter and the conceptions which it embodied. For our purposes, we may move on to Lord Coke, the great figure of the first part of the seventeenth century.

In an outstanding event of the history of our liberties, Coke advanced the law of the land against the king. This was in 1608,

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when James I asserted that he had power to take such cases as he might be pleased to determine and decide them as if he were himself a judge. Coke denied this, and the king was greatly offended, saying that this meant that he was "under the law, which was treason to affirm." To this, Coke replied, in words which he took from Bracton, that the king "ought not to be under men but under God and the law." This was a crucial application of the basic idea which we are considering.

In 1628, Coke wrote a "Commentary on Magna Carta," as a part of the work that is known as his *Institutes*. He showed the identity in meaning between the two phrases "the law of the land" and "due process of law," and that the purpose of these provisions was to protect the subject from oppressive uses of authority. In his words: "Every oppression against law, by colour of any usurped authority is a kinde of destruction, . . . : and it is the worst oppression that is done by the colour of justice." In this and other passages, Coke interpreted Magna Carta not so much in the light of its own historical setting as in the light and for the purposes of his own time.

Coke was a member of the committee that drew up the Petition of Right, in 1628, and was probably its principal author. In this, the House of Commons asserted itself against King Charles by condemning arbitrary taxation and imprisonment and the billeting of soldiers as being contrary to the law of the land.

Out of all these events there grew a great revival of the idea of protection of the citizen inherent in the phrases "law of the land" and "due process of law." This is perhaps most strikingly shown in the fact that the Act of Parliament which finally abolished the Star Chamber in 1640 recited that the actions of that body had not been in accordance with "due process of law," and were contrary to the "law of the land." Much of Locke's political writing was based on the ideas embodied in these two phrases. Both Coke and Locke had great influence on the development of the ideas of the colonists in this country a hundred years later.

These ideas came to America as a part of the heritage of our early English settlers, and we had here a soil on which they could flourish. When James Otis made his great argument in the "writs

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of assistance" case in 1761, he included an argument based on Magna Carta, with specific reference to the "law of the land" provision. This argument had great influence on the colonial pamphleteers, who had so much to do with the mobilization of public opinion in the period. John Adams was one of those who took up this idea. The argument that "taxation without representation is tyranny" was simply an application of the basic idea of due process of law, thought by the colonists to be established by Magna Carta and thus to be their birthright.

When, after the Revolution, and the successful adoption of a federal Constitution, it was decided to add a bill of rights to that Constitution, it was natural that this traditional right should be included. The Fifth Amendment, largely drafted by James Madison, includes a provision that "No person shall . . . be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." Thus has the great provision of Magna Carta been carried forward to our own fundamental law. As Dr. Mott has said, "This portion of the Fifth Amendment may thus be regarded as containing phraseology of purest gold mined under the stress of heated constitutional crises, refined by the fire of violent revolutions, proved by the acid test of centuries of struggle, and molded by the hand of one of America's greatest constitutional draftsmen."

And thus we have this ancient doctrine included in our Constitution—now in both the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. What the barons did in 1215, what Coke and his associates did in the seventeenth century, what the American patriots did in the eighteenth century—all of this, and much more, provides a clear continuity, linking our present institutions closely with all the struggles for liberty in the past three-quarters of a millennium.

But is not the due process clause technical lawyers' stuff? Was it not on the basis of this clause that the Supreme Court held that New York could not fix the length of hours that bakers might work, and that Congress could not fix a minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia? What do such decisions have to do with the struggle to obtain and to maintain liberty? The answer I would give is: Very little. They are only eddies in the stream which carries on the great idea. For the idea of due process, of the law of

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the land, is a great idea, and one of our greatest heritages from the past. It is something of the spirit, something that gives life to our political institutions. In very large part we take it for granted in our day-to-day relations with our fellow-men and with the several governments with which we deal. It is so deeply ingrained in us all that it is rarely violated; and many of the violations which do occur are naturally of the more or less technical sort with which courts deal.

In the long run, ideas are more powerful than more tangible weapons. And the idea of due process has been a very fruitful and pervading one in our history. What does it mean? Can it be defined? Many people feel the need for a rather precise sort of definition of concepts with which they deal—but this is not that sort of idea. This is an idea born out of the hearts of men. It has great capacity for development and growth, and yet a rather clear basic content. Perhaps it can be put by saying that it has some application wherever men feel a sense of injustice. Thus it becomes a chief source of support for individual liberties. What is liberty? Is it not freedom or protection of the individual against arbitrary or improper exercise of the organized power of the state? What is a tyrant? Is he not a man who exercises the collective power of the state in an arbitrary, capricious or purely selfish manner? Such words as *arbitrary* and *capricious* are difficult words. They may not in fact mean much more than "unreasonable," and that in turn may mean in substance "not customary" or not what we are accustomed to. Perhaps it may be said that we are accustomed to decent treatment from our public officers, and that our hearts and minds recoil when that custom is broken. It is with this sort of thing that the idea of due process, of the law of the land, is concerned.

Violations of cherished ideals and aspirations have often been overcome in our history by arguments based on the general idea of due process, of the law of the land. In recent times, the due process clause has been the basis of decisions such as these: (1) a judge cannot properly try a case if he is directly interested in the outcome; and (2) a person cannot be subjected to a secret trial with no chance to defend himself.

Now let us turn to the question which has been constantly

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recurring in recent days. Does this basic idea have any application to legislative investigations? Do these investigations always measure up to our ideal of due process of law? I think it fair to say that a large section of the public has from time to time felt "a sense of injustice" with respect to some of these hearings; and if they have, then there is a situation where the ancient ideal of due process is involved. A failure to appreciate the intimate relation between sound procedure and the preservation of liberty is implicit in that saddest and most short-sighted remark of our times: "I don't like the methods, but. . . ." Methods and procedures are of the essence of due process and are of vital importance to liberty. As Mr. Justice Brandeis wrote some thirty years ago, ". . . in the development of our liberty insistence on procedural regularity has been a large factor." More recently, Mr. Justice Frankfurter has put the same truth in these words: "The history of liberty has largely been the history of observance of procedural safeguards."

The complaint against the Star Chamber was chiefly one of bad procedures. Torture is a procedure. Inquisition without charge, forcing a witness to testify against himself, and the other things which were standard practice in the infamous Star Chamber would all fall into the category of procedure. Liberty is established and preserved by the development and maintenance of proper procedures. It is, in the last analysis, only through procedural rules that the individual is protected against arbitrary governmental action. And, as we have seen, the very essence of liberty is the protection of the individual against arbitrary application of the collective power of the state.

I am not opposed to legislative investigations. They clearly have a proper place in our governmental structure. The fact, though, that they can be useful and necessary does not mean that they should not be properly conducted, and under proper safeguards and procedures. Nor does it mean that when not properly conducted they may not violate our basic and fundamental conceptions of due process which are rooted so firmly in Magna Carta. In my opinion, some recent legislative investigations have been clear violations of due process. If so, why have the courts not so held? The answer is easy. The courts do not have the sole responsibility for the

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proper conduct of our government. As Mr. Justice Stone once said: "Courts are not the only agency of government that must be assumed to have capacity to govern." At this point another important governmental doctrine comes into play—the separation of powers. The courts have their responsibilities, but so do the executive and the legislative branches of the government. All are sworn to uphold the Constitution, including the due process clause of so ancient and vital an origin.

The responsibility for the proper conduct of legislative investigations is clearly in the legislature. In the case of investigations by the federal legislature, the responsibility is clearly in Congress and its two houses. Has this responsibility been fully met? It seems to me quite clear that the answer to that question is "No." Why has it not been met? What can be done about it?

Before turning to an answer to these questions, I would like to pause to make one important observation. It is wholly clear, I believe, that no senator or representative has any power whatever to make an investigation or to require the presence of witnesses and their answers to questions merely because he is a congressman or senator. An election to the House of Representatives or to the Senate does not make a man any sort of a magistrate, nor does it vest him with any power at all over his fellow-citizens except to cast his vote in the body to which he has been elected. The power of investigation is a power which is solely attributable to the collective body, the House of Representatives or the Senate.

When an investigation is being conducted, the power that is being exercised is that of the House or the Senate. No committee of either body has any power to conduct any investigation except as a result of a delegation from that body. No subcommittee of a committee has any power to investigate except on a delegation of the power delegated by the House or Senate to the committee. If there is a subcommittee of one, the power exercised by that one is not any power that is his by virtue merely of his being a member of the legislative body. If he has any power, it is only because there has been a proper delegation or sub-delegation to him of the basic power of the House or Senate.

I mention this because it is important in the consideration of the

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questions which I have posed and to which I want to suggest some answers. Since the power exercised by a committee or a subcommittee is the power of the House or Senate itself, responsibility for that power and its exercise rests not on the committee or the subcommittee of one or more, but upon the House or Senate itself, acting, of course, by a majority vote of its members. One of the important steps which must be taken if we are to find a solution for problems in this area is, I believe, to focus attention on the fact that these hearings which are the occasion of concern are not merely private frolics of an individual member, but are an exercise of the power of a house of Congress for which every member of that house has a full and equal responsibility.

Clearly there is a problem here. Why has it not been dealt with long before this time? It is a difficult problem, and it would be too much to expect it to be completely solved in a short time. But the fact is that virtually nothing at all has been done about it. There has been some talk, and some indication that something might be done. But the actual results so far are not impressive. Why is that? One reason, I think, is that only recently has it become a serious problem. It is clear that our legislative bodies include a very large number of able, high-minded men, who are quite interested in the ideal of due process. Why have they not taken action to establish proper procedures in legislative investigations?

The answer is not simple, but there is one aspect of it which is, I think, perhaps insufficiently understood by the average citizen. The fact is that, for practical purposes, the House of Representatives and the Senate are regarded by their members as clubs—the Senate, of course, being the more exclusive. Each member of the House or Senate has his own standards. And in a great many cases these standards are very high. But with almost no exception, no member seeks to impose his standards on any other member. Once you are in the club, how you act is up to you, and no member wants to undertake to interfere in the conduct of any other member—partly, I suppose, because he does not want anyone else to interfere with him. This is unfortunate, I think, though perhaps natural and understandable.

There is an important distinction here, which has, I fear, been

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overlooked in the consideration of this matter of legislative investigations. A senator or congressman who is conducting an investigation, either as a subcommittee of one or in association with other members, is not acting as an individual. Everything he does directly involves the other members of the body, and they should share responsibility for the exercise of the power they have delegated, power which inheres only in the body as a whole. The problem can be solved by establishing by law, or by rule of each house, a proper standard of procedure for the conduct of legislative investigations, which will keep them wholly consistent with our basic and deeply felt notions of due process of law.

In conclusion I would like to outline some provisions which, it seems to me, should be included in an established regulation of procedure for legislative investigations. I have in mind primarily the federal scene. Before turning to that, though, I would like to point out that we are not wholly without precedents. This is, interestingly enough, an area in which the states have, on the whole, done a much better job than has the federal legislature. In New York a commission has recently made a promising report on this whole matter. In Massachusetts the legislature, in establishing two recent recess commissions, one to investigate crime and the other to investigate communism, has included substantial provisions designed to protect the rights of witnesses and to insure the proper conduct of these investigations. As a result, there have been no complaints about the activities of these commissions, and we have not been subjected to the spectacles which have so frequently been produced on the federal stage. For these wise provisions we should give respect and thanks to the Massachusetts legislature and to its Committee on the Judiciary, which was undoubtedly responsible for their first formulation. But why cannot the Congress do as well?

Much work has been done over the past several years toward formulating a suitable and proper code of conduct for federal legislative investigations. A number of members of Congress have devoted much thought and effort to this task, and a number of bills have been introduced. President Eisenhower has announced that he understands that Congress is going to establish such standards—and it is clearly the responsibility of Congress. Legislative leader-

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ship on this question is still not impressive, but it should come. Probably it would be more accurate to say that there has been leadership, and good leadership, but it has been hard so far for the leaders to get an effective following. The matter is too important, too closely connected with our basic liberties to be longer neglected.

These are some of the things, as I see it, which should be included in a proper code of practice for legislative investigations. Of first importance is the elimination of the one-man subcommittee in any proceeding involving a witness who appears involuntarily. In our concern over recent events, we should not forget that there is much of the business of Congress which is not controversial, and there are many situations in which a witness wants to appear. As long as he appears voluntarily, there may be little objection, as far as the witness is concerned, to his appearing before any sort of body, including a subcommittee of one. Even then there may be a public interest in having a member of the other party present so that more than one point of view may be represented. When a witness appears under subpoena, when he is compelled to testify against his will, the situation is wholly different. Then I say that the power of Congress against him should not be asserted by a subcommittee of a single member.

Closely related to this is the matter of the issuance of subpoenas. The practice with respect to subpoenas has come to be very loose; indeed it might be called lax. It is the standard practice, I believe, in many committees, for the chairman of the committee to sign up a batch of subpoenas in blank and hand them to the staff of the committee. Then the staff fills in the name of a witness whose testimony is wanted, and the subpoena is served upon him. Such a practice is highly improper. There is here a close analogy with a search warrant which can only be issued by a judge. With respect to such warrants, Mr. Justice Douglas has said that the requirement of a search warrant is made "so that an objective mind might weigh the need. . . . The right of privacy was deemed too precious to entrust to the discretion of those whose job is the detection of crime and the arrest of criminals. Power is a heady thing; . . ." No subpoena should be issued to compel testimony except as a result of

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the action of the committee itself, not the chairman alone or its staff. There are few ways in which the organized power of the state is brought to bear on a citizen more sharply than through a subpoena to compel testimony. Such a power should not be exercised on the judgment or discretion or whim of a single man.

When a witness is summoned, he should be given several protections which have not heretofore been made available. He should be told in advance the subject and the scope of the inquiry. He should have the right to counsel, and counsel should be entitled to speak on his behalf as well as to advise him as to his rights. In many committees now, the right to counsel is formally recognized. But counsel, though present, is restricted to giving advice when called upon. He cannot address the committee; and counsel who have sought to do so have been ejected from hearing rooms. The right should be a right to effective counsel, and not the mere shadow of that right that has been recently allowed.

If testimony is taken in executive session (which should never be done unless the witness is willing), no member of the committee or of its staff should make available selected portions of the testimony, or summaries or incomplete versions of it. The committee should not be allowed to say, through its chairman or otherwise, "We have evidence of" so-and-so, unless that evidence is produced in an open hearing.

Of very great importance, I believe, is a rule protecting the witness from having to submit to broadcasting, television, newsreel cameras or any other form of recording or reproduction, except the ordinary stenographic transcript. Even popping flash bulbs can be an indignity and a source of strain to a witness. It is high time that we recognized and accepted the fact that legislative investigations are not a part of show business. Witnesses should not be required to testify in order to provide a spectacle for the public. Requiring testimony under such conditions is not compatible with any sound notion of due process of law, and I would expect our courts, as some have already done, to uphold a witness who refuses to testify for broadcast of any sort. We have even had Congressional investigations put on with sponsors, with advertising during the intervals. Can anyone possibly defend such a practice?

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In this connection I would like to state my own view that a legislative investigation is improper when its sole or basic purpose is to "expose" people or to develop evidence for use in criminal prosecutions. We have had chairmen of legislative committees who have announced that that was the purpose of the hearings they were conducting. In my opinion, they have thus demonstrated the impropriety of the exercise of power which they are seeking to carry out, and I would hope that the courts, when properly invoked, would decide that there was no legislative power for such a purpose.

There are many other rights and refinements which should be established and recognized in connection with legislative investigations. For example, a person summoned should have due notice of the nature of the evidence that is wanted from him. A witness should surely be entitled to explain his answers, and he should have an opportunity to answer any charges made against him or any evidence against him produced by other witnesses.

Many congressmen and senators are aware of these problems and are trying to get them worked out. Reference may be made in particular to the work of Congressman Keating, the chairman of a subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee, and to Congressman Scott, who has recently introduced House Resolution 447, which, if adopted, would go far toward resolving the problems as far as the House is concerned. The Senate should also go ahead with similar action.

Before leaving this matter, it should be observed that it is of first importance not only that proper procedures be established, but also that there be appropriate sanctions to make these procedures effective. This is not easy. Probably the most effective sanction in the long run would be a provision which would relieve a witness from any obligation to testify, and thus from any punishment for refusal to testify, when the procedures are not followed. A sanction against the committee or its members is doubtless unrealistic. But the committee should lose its compulsory powers when it does not conduct itself properly.

Finally, it should be emphasized again that responsibility for working out proper procedures for legislative investigations rests upon Congress and its two houses. Complaints against the Presi-

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dent or others outside of Congress are misdirected. Congress has the power to provide proper procedures for legislative investigations, and it should meet its clear responsibility.

The spirit of due process of law, the law of the land, our ancient heritage of liberty, requires that we bring order and fairness into this field which has recently become so chaotic. We have been through struggles of this sort in the past, and justice and liberty have always eventually won out. Indeed we have been strengthened in our liberties by each such struggle. In this connection, I think of a phrase which was used by our late Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone. He referred to "the sober second thought of the community, which is the firm base on which all law must ultimately rest." For myself, I have great faith in the sober second judgment of the people. The immediate reaction of the people, like that of any individual, may be hasty, emotional, irrational or unsound. But when that phase is past, when they have had a real chance to think through their problems, I have confidence that the people will demand a better standard of conduct in legislative investigations than has been evidenced in the recent past. In making this statement, I want to pay due and deserved respect to the many members of both houses who have not abused their powers and have been scrupulous in the exercise of their authority.

Though we live in stirring times, we should not forget that many generations of our ancestors have lived through times which were for them more trying than ours. It was Aeneas who heartened his men by saying to them, *O passi graviora,* "Oh you who have lived through worse days." It is not surprising that now, as in earlier times, there have been those who seek to exploit our fears. Nor should it be surprising that many people, at least at first, respond to such exploitation. But it is the way of life to have to meet new problems; and, while doing so, we should not give up old values.

In protecting ourselves from the threat of communism, we should not adopt methods of oppression here which the Communists themselves would use. After all, the essence of communism is the subordination of the individual to the state. And the essence of liberty, for which our ancestors fought, on both sides of the Atlantic, is the freedom of the individual from the arbitrary power of govern-

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mental authorities. When we see more clearly that our present problem is simply one of due process of law in its pervasive sense, so fundamental throughout more than seven centuries of history, we will have no difficulty in finding a satisfactory solution which will recognize and preserve the basic rights of individuals while providing ample protection for the state.

The problems of our day may be useful problems. It is good, I think, that we should have to bestir ourselves from time to time to protect our liberties, as our ancestors did on many occasions in the past. If we take these rights for granted, if we accept them as a matter of course, we may simply fritter them away and end by losing them, and possibly deserve to lose them. And so I would suggest that we not be discouraged nor even be unduly concerned if basic human rights are under attack. These are rights which thrive in vindication, and each generation better understands them and their significance if it has to think them through for itself. We are given a great opportunity today, to which I think we will measure up, if the past is any guide. Like the barons at Runnymede, like Coke and Locke and Otis and Adams and Madison, and many others whose names are lost to fame, we may be able to make our own contribution to that ancient concept which has rallied the spirits of free Englishmen and Americans for many centuries—the law of the land.

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Just a Few Bricks in the English Glasshouse

REGINALD REYNOLDS

WHAT WITH BILLY GRAHAM having been right here in England and the H-bomb just around the corner, there's not a Henry Dubb in this country who can forget America for long. Even the *New Yorker* is now assumed to be sufficiently familiar to the vicar's wife (not to mention the dental deficients in the waiting rooms of the welfare state) for *Punch* to have risked a heavy satire on its American contemporary. Add to this, McCarthy as a front page sensation and the unfailing celluloid of Hollywood—and you have the whole garble in one acid drop.

If you are looking for tones and inflections, of course, there are enough to confuse the most avid intellectual. Somewhere in the thirties, Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard* discovered Damon Runyon, who is still widely read. Saroyan came to town about the same time. Thurber has had an increasing vogue, and E. B. White, a late starter, may yet catch up with him. Since the days when we read Upton Sinclair and Sinclair Lewis, the switch (in spite of Hemingway) has been toward American humor—which may be proof of our discernment. Not only have some American humorists, since the time of Mark Twain, been the best social critics in America, but they have been the best humorists in the English language. The two facts are connected, and the reading public here may dimly realize it, even if the English humorists can't see why. We have produced snobbish humor, decadent humor, facetious humor, gross humor and—at our best—pure nonsense. We have to look across the Atlantic for humor as the protest of

✪ When asked for a brief biographical sketch, author REGINALD REYNOLDS had this to say about himself: "My interests vary from John Woolman and Gandhi to the history of beards, beds and lavatories, on all of which subjects I have written books."

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sanity and humanity against their opposites. A cynic might say that a diseased society develops its own antidotes—I'm not risking it.

Over here we don't develop anything much, except paralysis. To the traditional pursuits of watching cricket matches and adoring the royal family, the Englishman has added the even more sedentary thrill of the football pools. I can safely say that since my first memories of politics, public interest has dwindled steadily—in inverse ratio to the increasing gravity of the issues. When my father, in about 1910, stood on a cart in the main street of our town to explain the virtues of free trade, he could collect a big crowd, even if some of the burghers were for putting him in a horse trough—which at least showed they were not apathetic. Free trade versus protective tariffs today seems an odd controversy to raise any heat. But my father would throw black bread to the crowd (he had brought it back from Germany) just to show what our own bread would be like if the Tories got back into power. A handout of radioactive fish from the Pacific today would never make such a stir as my father kicked up on the price and quality of the English loaf.

Some people say that it's all because people sit at home now and take their news and views from radio and television. If that's true, we are damned indeed, for the B.B.C. sees to it that nobody ever intentionally says anything important. B.B.C. voices alone would have been enough to kill the news value of the Great Flood or anything that ever happened; but that's another subject.

In trying to show how we look at America, the first thing to explain is that we see everything rather dimly, like a man dreaming about a foggy night. Of course, it isn't true that we always sit quietly in front of our radio sets, if that is supposed to be the reason for—say—the Albert Hall being two-thirds empty when some leading pacifists and others tried to interest London in the H-bomb. All the people who weren't there were blocking Piccadilly and the whole West End, not long after, at the time of the Cup Final. My own guess is that the worse things become, the less people here want to think about them.

Naturally the thinking American will want to know what his opposite number over here is doing about things in general, and

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that leads directly on to what the British intelligentsia thinks about America. I want to say right away, with a violence which only the spoken word can adequately convey, that I dislike the very word *intelligentsia.* My *Concise Oxford Dictionary* says: "The part of a nation (esp. the Russian) that aspires to independent thinking." The word itself is revealed by the parenthesis as a dismal hangover from the thirties, when owl-faced young men from the universities lisped Marxist clichés in Hampstead and Bloomsbury. That was the Augustan Age of the parlor Bolshevik and the fellow-traveler. I resist with difficulty the temptation to reminisce; but if I refrain, it is not to spare lashing a dead donkey. The beast still lives, though it has changed its colors: the pity is that nothing can change its nature.

And here we meet the disturbing fact that the ruling literary cliques are still the same as those which "gave their little Senate laws" twenty years ago. McCarthy would enjoy himself if he could muckrake in our barnyard, but Kinsey's revelations might be even more startling. An American friend of mine who was in London during the war investigated the literary cliques and summed them up in one phrase which I should not be allowed to use here. But it was true. I happen to be one of those simpletons who dislike persecuting people because they are or have been Communists. I also dislike the persecution of homosexuals. But weak-headed young men who become Communists merely because it is the intellectual vogue and drop the cult later for an equally frivolous reason are likely to remain ditherers. Add a streak of pederasty, with the cliquism into which its victims fall or are pushed, and you have all the ingredients of ineffectiveness—instability of purpose and cultural isolation.

Perhaps in no country have the "intellectuals" less influence, and—one may add—in no country are the "intellectuals" more self-conscious regarding their *soi-disant* intellectuality. Like the word *intelligentsia,* the word *intellectual* has acquired an unpleasant smell. This reaction must not be misinterpreted as a revolt against reason, though the defenders of the title have inherited from the thirties a gramophone record about fascism and reaction for use whenever their pretensions are challenged. It is the validity of their

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claim, not of the thing claimed, which is under dispute. The plight of the high-brow cliques is the nemesis of a misspent youth, as Herbert Spencer remarked of a proficiency at billiards. They share very little scholarship, even less ordinary intelligence and an almost total absence of courage and integrity. Outside the theater, real creative writing is becoming rare. Those who strained after originality in the thirties have succumbed to literary hernia and now earn a base living as critics. Even reviewing can be lively—a fact of which I am reminded whenever an American literary journal comes into my hands—but the book reviews here give a strong impression of being divided into two main groups: (1) extravagant praise for any writer with whom the critic is allied—for example, though not exclusively, in the "trade union" of inverts; (2) peevish pettiness with regard to all others.

There are excellent and obvious reasons for not pursuing this theme in further detail. For present purposes it is only an attempt to explain certain reactions to America by means of a rough generalization about a section of our own population. The characteristic peevishness of our literary criticism is naturally to be found in most reviews of American books, though it is complicated by a mixture of fear, jealousy and complete lack of understanding. The solution is frequently sought in a pedagogic form of amiable patronage, which reminds one of those back-handed compliments to other women which are attributed to Tallulah Bankhead.

In search of an illustration I had merely to pick up the May, 1954, number of the *London Magazine,* edited by John Lehmann. Three American novels are reviewed in one article by Francis Wyndham. Most of the article reads like an end-of-term school report by a pedantic and disillusioned old schoolmarm on the work of children in their early teens. Even Alfred Hayes, who was patted quite heavily on the back, had to be reminded that two earlier novels of his had "shown promise." (It may be an idiosyncrasy of my own, but I particularly dislike that cliché, smacking so smugly of the schoolroom.) Charles Wertenbaker's book, *The Death of Kings,* is even more heavily patronized and eventually damned with something worse than faint praise as "an excellent example of

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intellectual journalism." As the old dog said, the worst of some bitches is that they're such women.

However, it's Saroyan who receives the full blast of the old lady's malice. Just listen to this from the school report. William, it seems, has perpetrated his "latest perversion of a technique he himself helped to originate, where a series of short sentences, portentously casual, pretends to disguise a sentimentality at the same time arch, arty, and almost infantile." Considering that Saroyan's work will be remembered and read when nobody will know or care who Francis Wyndham was (if, indeed, many either know or care today), this pompous verdict almost redeems itself by its unconscious humor. But it is not so funny for those of us in Britain who are concerned with the creation of an objective appreciation of literature—American or otherwise. To use some of Mr. Wyndham's own words, I find in them "the latest perversion of a technique which he had not even the merit of originating, where long and meaningless sentences, pontifically pretentious, attempt to disguise an animosity at the same time ignorant, offensive and completely ridiculous."

Let me hang on to Mr. Wyndham for a moment, while we have him under the microscope. He is a fair sample, a recent one and chosen at random from the first high-brow journal I happened to pick up. Try these two, if your blood pressure will stand it:

The number of good love stories that have ever been written anywhere is not a large one. This is particularly true of American writing, where a wide choice of techniques, all second-hand and rigidly controlled, is now available.

The American novel has reached a stage of sophistication where the *faux naïf*, either in style or content, is the note above all others it can no longer afford to strike.

My first extract begins with a statement at once sweeping and vague. What is a "good" love story and what is a "large" number? How wide, one reflects, must be the reading of this reviewer who can judge of all the love stories "that have ever been written anywhere." It is from such an Olympian view of the historical and geographical panorama that the omniscient polyglot swoops upon

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America to discover, what he could have learned from Ecclesiastes, that there is no new thing under the sun. There is an essential and eternal plagiarism about sex, and anybody can make a case that any love story is secondhand—the permutations must long since have been worked out. The thing itself is as hackneyed as spring or sunrise. But why limit the criticism to the American field? Would the same writer, for example, imply that the secondhand business of death or parturition was peculiar to America?

If the first quotation, when defecated, leaves a residue of poppycock, the second is plain insolence. The reference to the *faux naïf* was intended as a rap for Saroyan, who can take it without looking round to see what hit him. But the sentence as a whole does much to explain why the people of this island succeed in exasperating everybody else in turn. "There is one thing," an Indian once said to a friend of mine, in the days of British rule, "which we find it very hard to forgive you. It is your damned moral superiority!" The tone of Mr. Wyndham's generalization on the American novel is that of a colonial administrator telling a subject race that it is coming on nicely. Not only are we the witnesses, the judge and the jury in this assessment of progress, but we are also the standard measure: "In time you will grow up, you will mature—you may even hope eventually to become something like me, if you do as I tell you." So the American novel, like the African of the Gold Coast, is commended on having "reached a stage of sophistication." I don't know how old Mr. Wyndham is, but I strongly suspect that Henry James was dead before Wyndham was born. And maybe he never heard of Dreiser.

My brief is not to defend Americans from such critics—that would be as pretentious as the patronage or defamation banged out by our high-brow hacks. Criticism—as my own article doubtless illustrates—always tells the reader at least as much about the critic as it tells him about the object of analysis. Get his measure and you can even use the worst critic—in reverse gear. (I know a man who always buys any book which receives a specially vicious review in one literary weekly here. He says it is an infallible guide and takes the journal only for that purpose.) American writers can look after themselves; but that doesn't absolve an English writer

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from feeling some responsibility about our own corrupt standards.

It's not that I object to seeing our people hit out at the Americans and hit hard, but that is what they hardly ever do, even though Achilles is a monster with many heels and all of them vulnerable. Few of those journals which are believed in America to be "anti-American" and even sometimes described as "Communist" (a grim joke to those of us who know the timid old women who run them and write for them) will carry an outspoken attack on anything American. I may misjudge the whole situation and give too much credit to America; but I have a feeling that our intelligentsia would earn and deserve more respect across the Atlantic if it did hit hard instead of handing out either obsequious bouquets or querulous patronage.

For example, there was in the *Twentieth Century* (May, 1954) an admirable article by Geoffrey Wagner entitled "Rough Stuff." It was an attack, completely justified in my view, on the export of Hollywood films presenting to the world a picture of America as a criminal lunatic asylum. Instead of the turgid slabs of obscure, ambiguous or meaningless prose to which readers of our literary journals become accustomed, Wagner's article was at once vivid and precise, indignant and yet faultless in its logic. As I read it I realized four things: first, that his attack on the "almost insane particularity of sadistic delineation" in many American movies was fully justified; second, that the job could not have been done more forcibly; third, that he was not anti-American, but a man talking in plain language about the harm done, primarily to America and American interests abroad, by the steady increase of thuggery and brutality in these Hollywood portraits of American life; and last, I realized that the most significant thing about this essay in semantics was the fact that the writer, although English, lived in America. The habit of outspoken frankness had, surely, something to do with the fact that he had rescued himself from suffocation in our literary hothouse.

I know at least that if I were an American I would prefer it that way, with no groveling and no simpering malice. When a man writes like Wagner, you can enjoy reading him, even if you disagree with every word he says. But here that kind of robust criti-

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cism is almost dead. All the hoarded resources of our older universities—those "seminaries of the ignorance of the inland peasant," as Lord Brougham or somebody once called them—have supplied us with a race of critics "whose sharpest weapon is a crooked sneer."

Since the war, our intellectuals can no longer pretend that American literature doesn't exist. Not only did some of our more fervent stand-up-to-Hitler fellows spend a comfortable time in America during the blitz, but the end of the war found the rest of them straining their eyes for dollar markets. That was reasonable enough, though many of us here were bitterly ashamed and disgusted when *Horizon* launched its "Begging Bowl" appeals in America to feed the authors of Britain. (I don't know which was the more revolting—the lie that we hadn't enough to eat, when many found it possible to send regular parcels of food to the Continent, or the assumption that authors were in greater need of extra nourishment than other people.) Whatever American readers of *Horizon* thought about it, the cringing sponsors of this unprecedented mendicancy could hardly continue to ignore the American literary world from which they so shamelessly cadged.

In the new situation it is characteristic that American humor has been, on the whole, overlooked by the cliques here. The humor of the invert, such as it is, is generally hard and brittle. Perhaps the last "leftist" writer here, of any distinction, who used wit and humor as effective tools was George Orwell. A few social satirists of the "right" remain, such as Monsignor Ronald Knox and D. B. Wyndham Lewis, but these are out of the main current and well beyond the prevailing cliques. Having little or no capacity to appreciate what may be the most characteristic American contribution to our common literature, the dreary critics of our literary journals are more at home with *The Naked and the Dead* or *From Here to Eternity* than they will ever be with Dorothy Parker or with the exquisitely subtle short-story writers of the *New Yorker*.

Characteristically the *New Yorker* is described by William J. Newman in the April *Twentieth Century* as "middlebrow." It takes one back to the days of the left-bank coteries in prewar Paris, when any author who could sell more than an edition of a few hundred copies was contemptuously dismissed as a "best-seller." Our intel-

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lectuals are still so self-consciously living up to the name that they blush at the thought of the sales which they covet. It is not long since a good honest woman whose nearest acquaintance with literature is the scrubbing of a library floor saw *The Confidential Clerk* by some comedy of errors. She told my wife afterward that she thought it "smashing." But such praise from such a source might smash Eliot's reputation here, if it could be known in the best Hampstead circles. This desperate cult of the new, the unknown and the recherché, this obsession with brow levels and fear (witness Francis Wyndham, as quoted above) of the "second-hand," even in the most elemental and recurrent experiences, has led many of our critics to look with favor on the very tendencies which Geoffrey Wagner denounced in American films. Those who once tried to ignore American literature are in many cases prepared today to praise its most decadent products.

There is no honest cod in this pander-puff. It is a pose, and a damnable, poxy, dangerous pose from our own standpoint, though America can (and probably does, very rightly) ignore English critics. The vitality of American literature today is such that it can't help sporting some freaks, and little harm is done. On one small front, though, I wish for the sake of all concerned that America were better represented. I refer to the American Information Library in Grosvenor Square, where some of the most intelligent American journals are unobtainable, or practically so. (There was a solitary copy, two years old, of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, when I called there recently.) The assumption that intelligent reading must be un-American is a slander on the United States which deprives readers at Grosvenor Square of good material and gives an unfair impression of American output.

J. B. Priestley, who stands well outside the cliques (and is commonly referred to as "middle-brow" by the snobbish young men who envy him), is among the few here who have written with knowledge and discrimination about contemporary American literature. I suppose one should also welcome a recent cheap anthology (Penguin) of American verse; but the blight on all anthologies is that each one is a personal selection of which nobody else fully approves. I've been in that position myself, but still don't

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feel as generous as I ought to be over another editor's difficulties. However, it does mean an increasing consciousness here of an America that is not all Hollywood and hydrogen bombs or witch hunts and Midwest revivalism—and that's all to the good.

The fact still remains that the great mass of people here know little of America. I wish my own knowledge were comparable to my curiosity. One woman, otherwise well read, admitted to me recently that she had read hardly any American literature and did not want to do so. "They've taken our place in the world without being fit for it," she said bitterly, "and they're decadent without ever having been great." (Later she admitted that this was not quite fair, in view of her acknowledged ignorance.) I doubt if the new patronage of some American writers by our intelligentsia will greatly help. As the same woman rightly said, our intellectuals have the well-deserved contempt of the British public. Their struthious politics have damned them no less effectively than their literary preciosity. Ever since the thirties, when brave young men raised hue and cry after the fictitious figure of "Colonel Blimp" (symbol of a long-deceased Victorian type) and shut their eyes to real and insidious dangers—including the Muscovite dope they themselves peddled —the intellectuals have lived in spiritual exile from the "masses" of whom they once loved to talk *ad nauseam*.

I don't mean that the Common Man is, by contrast, enlightened. He's bewildered and bedeviled in a world where London is manifestly no longer the hub. The Ptolemaic Anglocentric earth of our imagination has vanished without any effort on our part to achieve the necessary adjustment. We dimly realize that our fate is being decided in Washington and the Kremlin; and we resent it, without making any effort to play a hand of our own. People want American bases here, but complaints are frequent about being an "occupied country." There is fear of Russia, often coupled with a hatred of Americans, because we hate being dependent on them.

The late H. J. Massingham, who was a Tory but a man of shrewd judgment in many things, said of the modern mind that it had "become as slow to peace as Providence is to anger. It goes on fortifying itself against the irresistible, whether by the moral surrenders of a false appeasement or the physical armament of a false se-

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curity." That seems to sum up this country today even better than it did when it was written some years ago. All this is parenthetic to the question of our attitude to America, but may help to explain it. Also it reminds me that perhaps the one place where our intellectuals make any contact with ordinary people is in the Labour party, where there has been a growing tendency to choose young theorists from the universities as Parliamentary candidates—a small contribution to the general confusion. Superficially, the Labour party intelligentsia is anti-American, which does a great deal of harm. But in fact it is afraid of America and will rarely hit out on just the issues which call for hard-hitting—where it could count on a great deal of support in the United States. The result is that many false impressions are created reciprocally, while the real issues are rarely discussed with any frankness. If, for example, most people in Britain think that every institution in the United States is corrupt, it is because American films have repeated this so often, in italics. But I have yet to see Hollywood trounced here on that count as Geoffrey Wagner lammed it for sadism and brutality. And so one could go on indefinitely.

For the rest, the ordinary, uninformed people here—from the solid citizens to the adolescent "Teddy-boys" and their female counterparts in long, tight pants—all know that America is New York, Chicago and Hollywood. They know that all Americans are rich and generous (or "chuck their money about," if you happen to be jealous, as many are where American troops are found). They know that American police are brutal or sentimental or both, and that the same applies to the ubiquitous American gangsters. They know that America is a fairyland where Cinderella marries a millionaire and the hard-working boy gets her when the millionaire conveniently dies. I half believe it myself. One day, perhaps, I shall find out the truth.

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POEMS

by GENE BARO

The Victims

Is it so hard to give he must remember
a thousand faces and the spread land and city
from the vantage of the hill? Hung the pure instant
between earth and heaven, his had the character
only of another individual death, or so it seemed.
Such was the public moment and the blue afternoon,
but these have passed away with the tongues to tell it,
with the palaces fallen to ruins, indistinguishable,
the shops gone to dust, the land breathless.
Even the many minds after have passed through
the dust of their commentaries, as many as the times
would allow, and there are testaments too many
for the singular facts of dying. The wounds
cannot be believed, when each perception
is a wound: each garden may overbrim its agony.
It is not that we have forgotten him,
but that the thieves are forgotten, and we have
remembered ourselves, but not in the mercy of his means,
being ourselves fearful and many.
Who could not guess his persuasion that godhead
gave, the miracle of self? This was the warning
that there must not be death, but the act of living,
in which death is implicit, like faith.
So were the vows of the many the trial of a single
man, yielding ghost, god, and grace, but also
the plain human meaning, smaller than the dazzling
sky or the multitude: a man may not be less

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than his singularity, and this is the death of the many
who crowd the public steps, seeking the holiday,
anonymous in denial and self-denial, where laughter
echoes and coins jingle, absolved, except in the surfeit
of that memory, the cry behind the common music
for whose shadow hangs against the roaring sun.

by JOANNE DE LONGCHAMPS

Tango

Our longest love will not outlive us
but go down crying in the cold
of those sealed countries walled within.

Heat dictates the tango years
and we outlive our gliding loves,
outstay our spring and summer selves
repenting of the coldest change
when forward looking turned its face
to looking back.
See
all our moons ascend and snap
like children's lost balloons of light.

Over meadows moulting down,
hot landscapes alter to a thin
God-fearing city spiked with spires,
robbed of roses and of swans.

Rivers carried prints of leaves,
sucked sweetness in a riot of sun

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where ice has settled down to stay—
trees are gallows waving ghosts.

There is nothing to be done but this:
Take grief to bed, last chilly lover
who will be faithful kissing in the cold.

The Pier

All things these waters touch are close to grief,
even this summer instance drugged with light
has surface shimmer only. Yellow and brief
the season of sun is simple varnishing
for the cold kept under, the colors kept
in shifting layers angled from our sight.
We look and say, the sea is green today.

We look and walk in love along the pier,
warm with each other, my hand inside your hand,
and move into the sideshow atmosphere
of booths with shoddy flags, the diving bell.
Our joy flings out to race the whirligigs
but carnivals are spinning in your hand
where private music turns a carousel.

Subtract from days and sullen nights to live
this time together. Shadows on a scene
of staying sea we play the fugitive
and move to shoals of loss. The cutting reef
of forced goodbyes warns shipwreck, will destroy
this more-than-pleasure craft, love's brittle boat.

All things that lovers touch are close to grief.

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by MELVILLE CANE

To You and You

On guard!
Forever be on guard!
Though you be blameless
In deed, in word,
Beware!
For now the times are ill,
The air foul.

Though you be chaste as ice
And pure as snow,
Virtue, alone, can not suffice
To shield and spare your innocence;
Virtue is no defense.

Slander's an assassin
That strikes to kill,
Sinuous innuendo,
A snake that coils within the shrubbery,
Poised for the precise, poisonous instant!

✪ The poetry, fiction and criticism of GENE BARO have appeared in a wide variety of publications. Another of his poems was presented in the Summer, 1951, issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR.

✪ The poems of JOANNE DE LONGCHAMPS have appeared in the *University of Kansas City Review, Prairie Schooner, Experiment, Golden Goose* and *Inferno.*

✪ MELVILLE CANE, lawyer and poet, has contributed articles, fiction and verse to leading magazines. His latest book is *Making a Poem.*

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Uncle Sam and the Farmer

HENRY C. TAYLOR

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION in Washington has aroused renewed interest in problems relating to price supports for farm products by indicating that the system now in use should be studied with a view to revision. This suggestion of the possibility of change has been met by loud protest. It is feared that revision means less protection for farmers. This fear is easy to understand. It took ten years to secure a law which effectively provided for price supports. Hard work by the farmer leaders, inside and outside of Congress, and the switching of millions of votes of farmers from the Republican to the Democratic party were required to accomplish that end. The return of the Republicans to power and the statements by Mr. Benson, the new Secretary of Agriculture, which were interpreted by the press as inimical to full price supports, could but irritate and excite the farmers.

Those who oppose a change in farm policies would not be so much excited over statements made, or conclusions assumed to have been implied, in the addresses and statements of Secretary Benson if they understood the limitations under which a Secretary of Agriculture functions and how much time it takes to change the policies and the action programs of the federal government. The Secretary is an executive officer. Congress sets the metes and bounds of his movements. The ghost writer who prepared the annual reports for seven Secretaries of Agriculture from 1924 to 1951 once said, "It makes little difference what a new Secretary of Agriculture thinks about the various federal policies and activities when he enters that high office. Once he takes the helm of the United

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States Department of Agriculture he cannot ignore the objective situation in which he finds himself. He finds it necessary to act in harmony with plans which have been approved by Congress. Of necessity he works through the agencies which have been set up by Congress. He cannot ignore the scientific findings of the department staff. He cannot ignore dominant public opinion." The activities of Secretary Benson relating to farm price supports have conformed to this view.

If the farmers of the nation understood how dependent the Secretary of Agriculture is upon Congress and how carefully Congress responds to dominant public opinion, they would calmly keep their representatives in Congress fully informed of their desires, and not fear calamity because of a speech by a Secretary of Agriculture, made before he is fully settled into his job. Of course, a wise Secretary of Agriculture may in time influence Congress if he has adequate following from the farms. But this takes years. It would seem wise at this time, therefore, for the farmers to keep cool and agree to the reviewing of federal farm policies with some thought toward finding something which will suit them better than the present system of production control and price supports, which is not without faults and carries with it loss as well as gain.

The re-thinking of the farmer's price problem is much more than a task for farm economists and farm leaders in and out of Congress. It is a problem of great concern to the whole nation. In its full significance it involves the whole problem of the inter-occupational distribution of the national income. It involves the question of whether we are to remain a free people or drift into some type of totalitarianism which we have been going far to fight.

Government limitation of production and commodity price supports in agriculture, carried forward as a permanent system, would imply tacit approval of limitation of competition by business enterprises and organized groups of wageworkers. This would mean the abandonment of the competitive price system and a call for more and more government control of prices in the interest of fair play. Is the government wise enough to administer the distribution of the whole national income, do justice to all occupa-

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tional groups, and conserve efficiency and balance in production without price as a guide to individual producers? If wise enough, have those in charge the courage to resist the unbalancing influence of pressure groups, each seeking more and more for itself at the expense of others? The available answers to these questions do not look promising. It is fairly clear that any system of government management of the distribution of incomes through price, wage and profit controls would require an amount of central administrative power far beyond that consistent with democratic government. There would be danger that the strongest group might take over the control in its own interest.

In the light of the improbability of providing efficiency and justice through government management of the primary distribution of the national income, is not the time ripe for careful consideration of the idea of securing efficiency and justice in the national economy by maintaining equally free competition in all phases of that economy? This would mean competitive private enterprise operating under equitable rules enforced by an umpire —the government—insofar as they are not enforced by individual and group discipline.

A question to consider is: can open doors be maintained for the free flow of labor and capital into all occupations? Can such information and educational guidance be provided as will result in an intelligent free flow of capital and labor through open doors, in a manner that will provide balanced production of goods and services between the occupations and will result in the interchange of all the products on a basis which will provide for equivalent levels of living for those of comparable ability, energy and activity in the various occupations?

In attempting to seek the solution of this problem of the farmers' share and the shares of others in the national income, we must face the problem as it confronts the farmer and must search for a means of adjusting the interoccupational problems in a way which will provide justice with a reasonable degree of freedom for those in all occupations. The farmer, competing with millions of his fellow-

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farmers throughout the United States and the world in the production of food and fiber for the domestic and foreign markets, cannot by himself learn what his competitors are doing that may affect the price which he will receive for the products he plans to produce for the market. Without that knowledge the farmer must proceed in the dark to make decisions as to which crops to produce, how much of each, and whether to market certain crops in their original form or to convert them into dairy products or meat. How to adjust crops to his land and labor supply, he may learn from his own experience and that of his neighbors. But to adjust production to changing market conditions intelligently calls for information beyond his range of sight.

Knowledge of the forces which determine the market value of farm products is of first importance to the farmer. The required information relates not only to probable supply but to prospective demand. The demand may be influenced by changes in the purchasing power of consumers due to unemployment on the one hand or full employment with advancing wages on the other. The abundance or scarcity of income on the part of consumers determines not only how much food and clothing they will buy, but the kinds as well. Hence, there is need for a wide range of information, which the farmer cannot secure for himself, as a basis of intelligent farm management. That farmers should produce the right amounts of the right things is a matter of public interest, as well as of great concern to themselves.

Let us very briefly review the steps which have been taken to provide farmers with needed production and marketing information. In 1839, federal officials became conscious of the need of production and price statistics as a guide to production. More and more farmers had commenced to produce for distant markets, which they reached through middlemen. At that time, the idea prevailed that while farmers should be left free to make their own decisions on an individual basis, they should be provided with information relating to supply and price of farm products. That remained the official view for the next ninety years. During that period, fore-

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casts and final statistics of production were developed step by step in the United States and in the major countries producing for the world market. Estimates of annual production were first made in the United States for the crops of 1841. These estimates had as a base the census figures for the crops of 1839. Commencing in 1863, forecasts and final production figures were issued by the Department of Agriculture as an aid to farmers, merchants, processors and consumers in planning their activities. At that same time, the collection and publication of price statistics was initiated to show the way increases and decreases in the production of specified farm products affected prices of those products.

In the 1890's, market movements at home and abroad were studied and reports issued to help enlarge the view of the farmers and to find new markets for the American surpluses. While the facts beyond the reach of the farmer's eye were being gathered for him, he was being encouraged to study more closely the facts of his own farming through farm accounts which would help him adjust his farm management in the most efficient manner, with both costs and prospective prices held in mind.

In the 1920's, the information services relating to production and to markets, to costs and to prices, were supplemented by special studies relating to future demand. The crop production forecasts and the yield statistics were useful in making sure that market prices would conform to the actual conditions of supply and demand, but they did not provide the farmer with the information he needed in advance of planting time and breeding time. Commencing in 1923, all available facts were analyzed and integrated into agricultural outlook reports which provided information with regard to probable demand in the future when the next season's crops and livestock would be moving into the markets. Information was also secured from farmers regarding their intentions to plant and to breed. If farmers were planning overproduction with respect to probable demand, they were warned of this fact in time to make readjustments in their plans.

The outlook information was given to the farmers through the

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press and through county agents. The farmers were encouraged to combine their own cost of production data with the outlook data in projecting plans for crop and livestock enterprises in the months and years ahead. It was recognized that because of ever-changing conditions, alertness in adjusting farming to fit new circumstances would need to be a year-to-year performance.

How completely the outlook service would have enabled farmers to keep step with changes which affect their incomes, other than in periods of disaster such as generally follow great wars, is not known. That service did not prove adequate in the 1920's, but it did provide much of the factual basis for production and price control in the 1930's. The calamities of the agricultural depression of the 1920's led farmers to ask the government to take a hand in adjusting production and securing fair prices for their products.

Farmers were reluctant to give up that sovereignty over the soil which they had cherished for centuries, but they very much wanted price supports for their products. They wanted greater security against losses due to depressed and fluctuating prices. This desire for security led them to relinquish some of their freedom. Today, after twenty years of government participation in the management of their farms, some of them are asking if, in the long run and barring major catastrophes, they would not be better off with freedom to farm as they please in the light of the best possible information. On the other hand, a large and vocal portion of the farmers are not thinking in terms of the long-range point of view. They want price supports here and now. They vote in overwhelming numbers to accept acreage restrictions—with their fingers crossed, it is feared—knowing that acreage control is not effective production control. The farmers know how to increase yields per acre. A real test would be to have them vote on restrictions in terms of pounds, bushels and bales.

In the 1920's attention was turned to the prices farmers paid for what they bought, and the center of interest turned from prices to purchasing power of farm products. Doubt arose in the minds of many farmers and some officials over whether, even in the long

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run, open-market prices would be fair prices. Questions were raised as to the influence of protective tariffs upon the real income of farmers who sell in the open markets of the world and buy in protected domestic markets. Some thought was given to the influence of other elements, including industrial and labor monopolies, on the purchasing power of farm products, but the center of interest for a time was in "making the tariff effective" in the domestic market on farm products of which a portion is produced for the export market. The McNary-Haugen Bill and the export debenture plan had in view subsidizing the exportable surplus and thus advancing the domestic price to a point where the purchasing power of farm products would be brought up to parity, that is, with price rations the same as they were from 1909 to 1914.

The creation of the Federal Farm Board in 1929, at the behest of President Hoover, was an effort to avoid price supports by means of export subsidies and to solve the farmers' price problem by helping the co-operative associations to control the flow of goods into the market. Farmer leaders were of two schools of thought: those who believed that the problem of securing better prices could be solved by co-operative associations of farmers, and those who believed that a comprehensive plan operated by the federal government would be necessary if prices were to be adequately supported. Coolidge, who was thought to respond to Hoover's guidance in such matters, had vetoed the McNary-Haugen Bill twice. Hoover was convinced, however, before he became President, that something had to be done for farmers. He consulted with leaders of business who were friends of his party. The businessmen submitted a written proposal (essentially the same as Hoover later presented to Congress) to a committee composed of two general economists and two agricultural economists. The assumption in the proposal was that a federal agency with $500 million at its disposal could stabilize the market on a satisfactory level of prices by working with the co-operative associations. Three members of the committee of economists approved the proposal essentially as presented. The fourth member insisted on including a statement over his name that prices could be supported only by sustaining losses

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and that there would need to be a means of replenishing the supply of money available to the co-operatives if they were to be able to continue to support prices.

Many people have wondered why Uncle Sam did not continue to turn a cold shoulder when the farmers asked for price supports and simply give better and more timely information to assist the adjustment of production to demand on the basis of an acceptable price. This, it is believed by some, would generate a vigorous breed of farmers. Uncle Sam finds it difficult for economic and political reasons to do this because he knows that under those conditions farmers would compete freely with each other, while there is widespread limitation of competition on the part of those who produce merchandise and transport the goods farmers buy and sell. Farmers would compete freely with each other in producing all they could and sell the product for what is offered in the market. Manufacturers take orders for or calculate carefully what they can sell at a price and adjust their production accordingly. Even though there may be keen competition for orders, there are monopoly elements in the costs common to all competitors. These common elements of cost constitute the basis on which manufacturers compete. Monopoly elements in costs become monopoly elements in the prices consumers must pay. Under these conditions a disparity between the farmer's selling price and his buying price would be inevitable. In addition to these economic reasons there are also political reasons. The votes of farmers are essential to the winning of a Presidential election, and in vast areas the farm vote determines who shall have a seat in the House or the Senate.

With these reasons for doing something for the farmer, action was inevitable. The real question was, what to do? There appeared to be two roads to the restoration of conditions under which farm prices might be fair prices: one route lay in the direction of restoring competition in other occupations as free as that existing in agriculture; the other was to provide, through effective federal legislation, a degree of artificial limitation of competition among farmers comparable to that in the occupations which produce the goods which farmers buy.

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The first road appeared blocked in the 1920's. Organized industry and organized labor were against movements along that line. Organized industry was likewise against artificial control of agricultural production and prices in the interest of re-establishing and maintaining the purchasing power of farm products. On the other hand, organized labor favored the limitation of agricultural production in the interest of price maintenance. Samuel Gompers, then head of the A. F. of L., looked upon it as similar to what he desired for labor and favored having organized agriculture act upon the same principle as that followed by organized labor. Under those circumstances the movement for price supports through limitation of competition of farmers with farmers seemed in the 1920's to be the only road that could be opened for traffic; and therefore in the 1930's, this was done. But traffic on that road has not always moved easily and safely. Some farmers would rob Uncle Sam while he is trying to serve them. Others continue in their competitive ways and have nothing to do with production control. Production control through acreage limitation has not proved adequately effective in avoiding unmanageable surpluses. How to perfect a system of artificial price and production control still awaits a clear and final answer today.

An upward trend of prices (inflation) is inevitable under the present system of artificial control of production and prices of farm products accompanied by wage control through collective bargaining with decisions influenced by strikes or threatened strikes. Here is the staircase. Organized labor presses for higher wages. Management capitulates, knowing that with wages the same for all competitors, the increased cost can be passed on to consumers in the price. Wages constitute two-thirds of the cost of manufacture. Farmers have to pay higher prices. This elevates parity prices for farm products. Workers pay more for food and on this ground receive higher wages to cover higher living costs. Again parity prices automatically rise, and thus prices rise step by step until an unbalance in parts of the economy results in a depression.

Unemployment compensation for wageworkers is of the same order as price supports for farmers. Unemployment is the wage-

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worker's difficulty, as inadequate prices are the farmer's occasion for help. As price supports help maintain prices by holding a part of the product out of the domestic market, unemployment compensation helps maintain wage rates by supplying the means of holding a part of the labor supply out of the labor market. Thus these two relief systems reduce the flexibility of prices and wages and in that way tend to retard adjustments in prices and wages characteristic of an open competitive market. These are definite steps away from the private-enterprise, open-market economy and toward a planned economy.

In thinking of the problem of securing a fair share for agriculture in the national income, with open-market prices, attention should be given not only to means of reducing limitation of competition on the part of industrial management and organized labor, but also to means of reducing what may be excessive competition of farmer with farmer.

Downward revision of tariffs on imports would stimulate foreign competition and reduce monopoly elements in prices of domestic manufactures. Closer scrutiny of industrial "institutes" supported jointly by all the companies participating in a given line of production might prove helpful. Recognizing that in modern industry labor must be organized for collective bargaining, the limiting of the membership of any given labor organization to those employed by one company, and thus the abolishing of industry-wide labor organizations, might go far toward eliminating monopoly elements in wages. So long as wages are fixed by pressure groups on an industry-wide basis, management can pass that monopoly element on to the consumer in the price, because all companies are affected alike by the extra cost involved in the higher rates of wages. Furthermore, so long as labor is organized on an industry-wide basis, management will, of necessity, be allowed to collaborate on an industry-wide basis in negotiating wages. This opens the door for other collaboration.

It has been demonstrated that where labor is organized on a company basis (now illegal), the mutual interests of labor and management can be considered in determining the policy to be

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followed by a given company. In a case which occurred before company unions were made illegal, representatives of labor sat with representatives of management in deciding what to do when demand fell off because of a decline in the purchasing power of those who used the product. The choice had to be made between cutting down on production, which meant seriously reducing the labor force, or reducing prices to meet the market condition and maintain the rate of sale. The latter could be done only by reducing the rate of wages as well as the rate of profits. By working together, labor and management reduced costs and prices, maintained a high level of employment, maintained "real wages" at a reasonably high level; and simultaneously, the adoption of the policy of flexible prices, wages and profits was of great benefit to those who bought the product of that company, most of whom were farmers.

It is believed that if labor organizations were limited in size to the number employed by one company, there would be enough competition between the companies, through joint agreements between management and labor, to eliminate a large part of the monopoly element in the price of the product. This in itself would go far toward reducing the discrepancy between the prices farmers receive and the prices they must pay for the goods and services they buy. Furthermore, full employment in the city industries at moderate wages (wages which have flexed down as much as the cost of living has gone down) provides a better market for farm products than maintaining an inflexible wage rate with a fourth of the workers unemployed. The inflexible wage rate in a depression means that while those out of employment are in poverty, those who have work may be getting "real wages" far above what they had received in a period of prosperity and full employment. Furthermore, taking the monopoly element out of the prices of things farmers buy would in the long run increase sales of goods to farmers. This would make it profitable to expand employment in industry, commerce and transportation, making room for more of the excess rural people in the city industries.

There are at least three reasons for a flow of labor from country to city. First, as farming ceased to be a self-sufficing economy and

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became more and more a commercial economy, much that was once done on the farm was transferred to the factory; second, with the modern mechanized type of farming, fewer farmers can farm all the land and produce all the farm products needed by city folk; third, the birth rate on the farm has been higher than in the city. To maintain a balance, therefore, there must be a continual flow of surplus farm population into the city occupations.

To maintain this flow at a rate which will preserve the right balance between country and city, two things are essential. There must be on open labor market in all other occupations, accompanied by education for and guidance of the surplus farm population into available jobs.

The United States Department of Labor has made a good start in assembling and publishing occupational outlook data and in providing, in co-operation with the school systems of several states, aptitude tests and vocational-guidance counseling. These services, when further developed and extended to cover generally the rural high schools as they have been in a few of the states, will do much to stimulate and to guide the flow of surplus rural youth into the town and city occupations for which they are best fitted and where they are most needed. At present, resident centers and job training in these centers are not provided for. They should be reconstructed with, perhaps, more local initiative and participation than was true in the N.Y.A. experiments. Furthermore, nation-wide statistics on occupational intentions of high school students, as well as occupational opportunities for them, would add greatly to the information essential to wise vocational guidance. The guidance counselor in any given high school or college needs to know how many of those desiring to go into a given occupation have a good prospect of securing employment in that occupation. Such services providing for the freer movement of workers could do much to help maintain a proper distribution of the labor force among the various occupations. This would go far toward insuring an equitable distribution of the national income among those employed in the various occupations.

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Another means of reducing excessive competition of farmer with farmer, and thus helping to bring about equal degrees of competition in all occupations, is the elevation of the standards of living of farm families. This does not necessarily follow as a result of increased income. Price supports which result in net incomes for farmers beyond their accustomed standard of living do them no permanent good unless accompanied by stimuli which lead them to enhance their levels of living to absorb the new increment of income. Otherwise the new increments will be lost through the results of increased competition of farmer with farmer. It is a well-known fact that enhanced income beyond the accepted level of living stimulates competition for farm land, which drives land values up and absorbs a part of the new increments of income. In a dairy district the price of cows first absorbs the overflow, but in time the land, too, assists this absorption.

An adequately enhanced level of living, *demanded by farmers,* is essential if in the long run farmers are to secure and benefit by parity prices. Without parity standards or level of living, efforts to provide parity incomes will not adequately benefit farmers, because the income in excess of the accustomed level of living will overflow. Farmers cannot catch and hold a four-quart income in a three-quart standard of living. Hence, associated with means of improving farmer incomes should be a well-developed plan for elevating living standards. The old proverb—"You can't eat your cake and have it"—was useful when applied to the winter's food supply on the self-sufficing farm of one hundred years ago. In the commercial economy of today, the farmer *must* eat his cake to have it. When farmers set high levels of living as the basis on which they compete with each other and will positively seek other occupations if that standard cannot be secured on the farm, there will be reason to hope that farmers may receive and benefit from a fair share of the national income. But an adequate movement of surplus farmers out of agriculture cannot take place unless there are open doors and knowledge of opportunities in other occupations.

It is believed by some home economists that a much higher proportion of the increased income of farmers during World War II

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went into improved living conditions than was true during World War I. Rural electrification has done much to open the way for higher levels of living on farms. The fact that electricity on the farm made possible many facilities not otherwise available was an important factor in promoting better living standards. Improved high school facilities for rural youth have been another factor in improving living standards of rural people and in training youth for a wider choice of occupations. Then, too, memories of the depression in land values in the early 1920's gave pause to overreaching in the buying of land. This made it easier to use the money for elevating the level of living. Yet the price of farm land has gone up 174 per cent since 1940, and farm-mortgage indebtedness was 50 per cent higher at the end of 1952 than at the end of 1945. These increases would doubtless have been greater had there not been educational work done with farmers and moneylenders to retard excessive evaluation of land as a basis of loans.

These are only samples of the kind of things which might equalize the freedom of competition in the various occupations, with the hope that competitive prices in the open market would provide an equitable distribution of the national income.

In the meantime, with conditions as they are, price supports for farm products are both an economic and a political necessity, and the problem remains of how best to provide that service, pending the time when enough progress shall have been made toward fair prices for farm products through equally free competition in all occupations or through other means, to justify farmers in giving up price supports for their products.

The people of the United States must choose between working carefully, patiently and effectively to maintain free enterprise and free open markets for capital, labor and goods on the one hand, and on the other a federally controlled economy in which free enterprise and many other freedoms will gradually disappear. The Farm Bureau Federation has for fifteen years publicly stated that if those in other occupations would compete as freely with each other in producing and pricing their products as do the farmers, the Farm Bureau would ask the government for nothing but full information for the farmers. There has been no favorable response.

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The writer has asked three presidents of the American Economic Association to include on its program a discussion of the interoccupational distribution of the national income. Not one of the three favored including the subject. In discussing this subject with a former editor of the *American Economic Review*, that prominent economist said, "Oh, Taylor, you had better stick to your agricultural economics." I apparently failed to enable him to see that a fair distribution of the national income between occupational groups was the very essence of the farmers' price problem.

This lack of interest in the interoccupational distribution of income is due to the high degree of specialization in the training and work of economists. The national and world economies have grown so complex that such specialization has seemed necessary. However, along with specialization in subject matter goes specialization in interest and attention. Most academic economists in the United States today are specialists in some field. Outside of the educational field, great numbers of economists are employed by associations, by processing and manufacturing concerns, by transportation and merchandising companies, by banks and by many agencies. All these are employed to concentrate their attention upon the problems and the subject matter in which their employers are specifically interested. The many specialists and a few general economists make up the membership of the American Economic Association. I have been a member of this group for fifty years. During this time, I have come to realize that the long-run best interest of the farmers cannot be attained through class conflicts, no matter how successful.

The right solution of the farm problem and of the labor problem in general must come through a statesman-like program seeking the welfare of all the people in all occupations. The starting point for such a program is an objective study of the interoccupational distribution of the national income. This is not a one-man job. It is a task for a commission made up of specialists, general economists, men of affairs and statesmen who will use scientific methods of assembling facts and philosophical methods of group thinking. Only in this way can we insure the maintenance of a national economy in which free men may live in a democracy.

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The New Radio Astronomy

BART J. BOK

A YOUNG SCIENCE is coming of age. Only a little more than twenty years ago, Karl G. Jansky of the Bell Telephone Laboratories found the first evidence for the existence of radio signals from outer space. Before World War II, few would have dared to predict that by 1954, radio observatories with a great variety of equipment would be in operation in several countries.

Our knowledge of the universe of stars and galaxies has been growing steadily since Galileo first turned his telescope to the heavens. Through the old astronomy we have found ways of learning much about the sun and its planets, their motions as well as their physical conditions. We have explored far into the arrangement of the stars in the Milky Way and in the distant galaxies. Spectroscopy and photography have revolutionized astronomy, and brought about an ever-increasing understanding of the physical conditions in the atmospheres and deep interiors of the stars and in the tenuous clouds of gas and cosmic dust particles that thinly occupy the vast spaces between the star-suns.

Before the days of radio astronomy, all this information about the sun and the planets, the stars and the nebulae, was obtained by observation of the radiation in a narrow range of wave length. The light that comes to us from the far reaches of the universe arrives at the earth in the form of electromagnetic waves. Our eyes are sensitive to waves with wave lengths ranging from a little less than two to a little over three one-hundred-thousandths of an inch. Until the middle of the nineteenth century, light waves outside this very limited range were inaccessible to us. Photography has made it pos-

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sible to extend our observations to the violet of blue light, to radiations of shorter wave lengths; and photography aided by heat-measuring devices permits us to study the radiations in the infrared, on the long wave-length side of the red rays. But the ozone of the upper atmosphere cuts out the waves from outer space in the deep violet, and the water vapor of the earth's atmosphere does the same for the far infrared.

Notwithstanding the new aid from high-altitude rockets, we are still limited for photographic and for visual work to a range of the electromagnetic wave spectrum that lies between one-half and twelve one-hundred-thousandths of an inch. In the language of sound and music, we call one octave a ratio of a factor of two in the wave length of a sound vibration. Applying the concept of the octave to the electromagnetic spectrum, all of our knowledge derived from visual and photographic research of the heavens comes from a thorough study of a little less than five octaves of the electromagnetic spectrum. Most of it comes from the single blue-to-red octave to which the human eye responds.

The new and young science of radio astronomy had its birth when radio engineers discovered that the earth's atmosphere was transparent to radio waves over a wide range of wave lengths and that radio radiations from outer space were actually reaching the antennas at the surface of our earth. These radio signals from outer space have been found capable of penetrating the earth's atmosphere over the entire range from wave lengths of the order of 1 centimeter to 30 meters, corresponding to a ratio of 3,000 to 1 between the longest and shortest wave lengths, or 12 octaves of the electromagnetic spectrum. In terms of wave length, the radio window through which we may observe the universe is very much wider than the optical window. The radio astronomer at his electrical recorder, who watches the pen of his instrument trace the graph that represents a part of the story of the radio universe, cannot help but glory in his good fortune, belonging as he does to a generation that has been rather unexpectedly provided with new tools and with a broad, fresh range of spectrum through which to explore the universe.

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The thrill we feel is akin to that of Balboa first sighting the Pacific Ocean. For untold centuries the radio radiations from the sun and the universe have been striking the earth, unknown to man and beast, and we are just now becoming aware of the vast yet unexplored body of data that awaits detection, measurement and analysis.

As his primary tool, the radio astronomer uses large dish-shaped, parabolic antennas, coupled with sensitive radio receiving and recording apparatus. The signals from outer space are weak; and detecting them and precisely measuring their strength call for the best in radio and recording equipment. The astronomer, whose knowledge of electronics is all too often rather meager, has had to depend on the physicist and electronic engineer to build and help operate the electronic heart of the radio telescope. The advance of the science—or perhaps we should more fittingly say the art—of radio astronomy has been in the hands of physicists and electronic experts. But quite often the lone laboratory scientist has found the going rough—or very expensive—and in many cases the electronic industry has been called upon to assist in the execution of delicate electronic assignments. Radio astronomers are fully aware of the generous contributions made by industry, without which many recent developments would have been impossible.

For good "reception" of the "programs" broadcast by interstellar matter and by radio stars, we require, in addition to the very best in electronic equipment, really large antennas, sometimes called "mirrors." There are two good reasons why small antennas simply will not do for most types of research in radio astronomy. First, we need to catch and concentrate radio rays over a considerable area of reception if we wish to have a reasonably strong signal for our electronic equipment. This is especially so at the shorter wave lengths, one centimeter to one meter, for which the intensity of the galactic radio signals is very weak indeed. Second, we must have these large receiving antennas if we desire to have reasonably high resolution, which is the ability to see small detail clearly and sharply. The large radio mirrors are really very crude in comparison to the

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conventional ones used in standard optical telescopes. A 25-foot radio mirror, operating at a radio wave length of 20 centimeters, would observe two radio stars the apparent size of the moon and separated by twice their diameter as little more than one single blur. It takes a 50-foot radio mirror to begin to show them as separate and distinct radio stars.

Large radio mirrors are now in operation or under construction abroad in Great Britain, Australia and Holland. The largest radio mirror soon to be in operation is the 250-foot paraboloid now being built for the Jodrell Bank Station of the University of Manchester in England. The largest antenna in the United States is the 50-foot parabolic radio mirror at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, D. C. It is a marvelous instrument, but if the United States wishes to have a ranking position in radio astronomy five or ten years hence, we have no choice but to start thinking right away in terms of one or more 250- to 300-foot mirrors. Fortunately this is well realized by those concerned with the planning for the scientific future of America, and our National Science Foundation is taking the lead in urging astronomers, physicists and electronic engineers to put their heads together now to consider precisely what types of large instruments will be most useful for future research, what the cost of such instruments will be, and where they should be mounted. When one comes to decide upon the location of a large radio telescope, there is no reason to favor the clear skies of the Southwest over the more clouded climate of the East, since radio waves at almost all wave lengths reach us undisturbed through a cloudy sky.

Through radio astronomy, young as the new science may be, we have already learned much that was hitherto unknown about our universe. Perhaps the most significant discovery that has been made is that our radio sky looks very different indeed from the familiar sky of astronomy.

The sun is there all right in the radio sky, but at some wave lengths—especially those in excess of one meter—the radio telescope records it with an apparent diameter from four to five times

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as big as that of the sun as we see and photograph it day after day. At wave lengths of a few centimeters, on the other hand, the radio sun appears to be not very much bigger than the traditional sun. Why should this be so? The best explanation offered thus far runs somewhat as follows: At centimeter wave lengths, the radio radiations come principally from the lower atmosphere of the sun, and these radiations pass relatively undisturbed through the thin outer parts of the sun's atmosphere, its corona. Hence, the sun seems to be of about normal size. When we turn to the meter waves (and longer), the corona itself becomes a powerful transmitter, and hence the sun appears much larger. By radio methods we are thus studying radiation reaching us from the outermost parts of the sun's corona. The outer corona has hitherto been observable only at times of total eclipse, although the inner corona can now be studied optically from mountain observatories.

A second important property of the radio radiation from our sun is that it is highly variable in intensity. We would be very much surprised—and, incidentally, burned to death—if the sun's radiation in the optical range were to be subject to sudden increases by a factor of one thousand or greater. Most of the excess radio radiation—the emission above the normal average level of the "quiet sun"—is apparently associated with flares and outbursts of various sorts localized on the sun. Co-ordinated solar and radio research has shown that the appearance of a visual solar flare heralds the onset of a violent radio disturbance on the sun.

It would lead us too far to report here on the terrestrial—ionospheric and atmospheric—phenomena that are associated with solar flares and enhanced radio radiation. But it is not difficult to understand that the study of the sun by optical and by radio means is an important field of research for those interested in long-distance radio communication.

The study of the radio sun does not really prepare the uninitiated for the surprises that come when he hears for the first time about the results of radio studies of the universe of stars and nebulae. There is one cheerful and reassuring fact to report first of all:

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The band of the Milky Way is shown clearly at all radio wave lengths. When, however, we look for the familiar stars and constellations, such as the Big Dipper or Orion, we find these lacking in the radio sky, and a wholly new pattern of "discrete radio sources" presents itself! Next we find that the gas of interstellar space appears to be the source of detectable radio emissions; but here again, the optical information serves at best only as a partial guide to what we learn by radio methods.

We begin our discussion by considering first the radio observations of the neutral hydrogen gas. Most of the matter in interstellar space is probably gaseous; and, according to the best available estimates, the total mass of the interstellar gas is a sizeable fraction, ten per cent or more, of all matter in the stars of our Milky Way system. Probably as much as three-quarters of all interstellar gas is composed simply of neutral hydrogen atoms, which still have the negative electron neutralizing the positive charge of the nucleus. While the high abundance of hydrogen has long been recognized, the older observations dealt only with highly excited or with ionized hydrogen clouds, the latter composed of positively charged hydrogen nuclei and unattached free electrons. It was left to radio astronomy to provide a means for the detection and study of the neutral hydrogen in our Milky Way.

It all began at an astronomical colloquium held in 1944 in Holland during the Nazi occupation, on which occasion H. C. van de Hulst reminded his listeners that the neutral hydrogen atom in its lowest level of energy could have the electron with its magnetic axis either parallel or opposite to the magnetic axis of the nuclear proton. On very rare occasions, the electron would flip over from the state of parallel magnetic axes—with the slightly greater "rest" energy—to the lower energy state of oppositely directed magnetic axes. If such a flip-flop were to take place, radiation would result, and the wave length of the excited radiation would fall in the radio range near 21 centimeters. Van de Hulst reasoned that in spite of the rare occurrence of such an event, there would be enough neutral hydrogen atoms performing at any one time in the vast spaces between the stars for the resulting radio radiation to become detectable.

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The first research group to be successful in the detection of the 21-centimeter radiation from neutral hydrogen was the Harvard pair of physicists, Edward M. Purcell and Harold I. Ewen. They succeeded first in recording these radio waves in the early spring of 1951, and their discovery was promptly confirmed by the Dutch and Australian groups. In the almost three years that have elapsed since the detection of the 21-centimeter radio line, much progress has been made in the field of instrumentation. The Dutch equipment has produced an extensive homogeneous body of data relating to the structure of the Milky Way system. Australian radio astronomers have used their equipment not only to study the distribution of 21-centimeter radiation along the southern Milky Way, but they have succeeded in detecting the radiation reaching us from the nearest neighbors to our Milky Way system, the two star-clouds of Magellan. The Agassiz Station radio telescope of Harvard Observatory is engaged upon a series of regional surveys, which have already demonstrated that the giant dust clouds of the Milky Way are also dense concentrations of neutral hydrogen gas. At the United States Naval Research Laboratory, John P. Hagen and his associates have been active in the study of radio radiations at and near 21-centimeter wave length. They have apparently recorded radiation reaching us from the very center of our Milky Way system. Equipment to study the 21-centimeter radiation is now either in operation or under construction at the Jodrell Bank Station of the University of Manchester and at the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Why all this interest in research on the radio radiations from neutral hydrogen? In brief, the importance of this research lies in the fortunate circumstance that it permits us to observe very distant gas-clouds of our Milky Way system, which are optically hidden behind dense clouds of cosmic dust. With the aid of 21-centimeter observations, we are for the first time gathering evidence about the remote half of our Milky Way system which, as little as three years ago, seemed to be beyond all possible reach. Already the Dutch radio astronomers have obtained new and exciting information about the spiral structure of our Galaxy, and the work has really only just begun.

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We turn now from the emission of a single spectrum line in the radio range to the study of the continuous background radiation from our Galaxy and of the associated "discrete radio sources." In a way, Jansky's early observations of radio static, made in 1932, showed us that the band of the Milky Way had significance for radio studies, for he demonstrated that the strongest static came from the direction of the constellation of Sagittarius. This is the direction toward the center of our Milky Way system, and the Sagittarius star-clouds mark one of the brightest sections of the band of the Milky Way as observed by visual or photographic means. The relation between radio radiations and the Milky Way became firmly established when, in 1939, Grote Reber, an electronic engineer of Wheaton, Illinois, called the "Lindberg of radio astronomy," showed conclusively that at a wave length of 185 centimeters, radio radiation could be detected from along the entire band of the Milky Way. His observations were not really checked independently until eight years later, when British observers entered the field. A considerable number of surveys on the distribution of the radio radiation from the Milky Way have been completed since 1950; one of the most recent ones has been published by John D. Kraus of Ohio State University, who has built a very effective antenna of novel design.

What is the source of these radio signals from the Milky Way? Do they originate in stars, in gaseous nebulae or in the cosmic dust-clouds of interstellar space? The presently available evidence seems to suggest that there are two or three distinct physical processes that produce the general radio radiation from the Milky Way and beyond. There is good evidence that one source of radio energy—especially in the range of wave lengths between 1 and 25 centimeters—are the ionized gas-clouds of the Milky Way. Direct proof for this assertion has recently come from the United States Naval Research Laboratory and has been followed by prompt confirmation with the equipment at Harvard's Agassiz Station and in Holland. The gas-clouds alone cannot, however, account for all of the radiation. There seems now little doubt that there is a major contribution, notably at longer wave lengths, from the radio stars,

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now appropriately and with more precision referred to as "discrete radio sources."

How these discrete sources were first discovered by Australian and British radio astronomers, how their positions were measured with amazing precision, and how the 200-inch Hale reflector at Mount Palomar has succeeded in tracing down optically the faint photographic objects apparently responsible for these radio radiations—all this could readily be the subject of a separate article or two. Here we shall have to pass over the remarkable developments in equipment that have made possible the cataloguing of close to one thousand of these objects.

At first, it seemed an almost impossible task to identify these radio objects with stars or nebulae known from visual or photographic observations. Australian radio astronomers were the first to provide us with one sure identification. They showed that the third brightest discrete radio source is exactly at the position of the Crab nebula, a turbulent gaseous nebula that seems to have resulted from a supernova explosion in A.D. 1054. It was not until the 200-inch Hale reflector entered the picture that further certain identifications could be made. R. Minkowski and W. Baade of the Mount Wilson and Palomar Observatories have searched their photographs diligently and with success for traces of objects that might be held responsible for the observed radio radiations reaching us from very limited areas of the sky. Here is briefly what they have found to date.

The discrete source in Cygnus, the brightest of all, curiously enough appears to be related to two faint and very distant galaxies in collision. These colliding galaxies are estimated to be about 200 million light years from our sun, and the radio radiation seems to originate in the turbulent mixture produced by the gases in collision. The bright source in Cassiopeia, number two in order of brightness at radio wave lengths, is of relatively local origin and is related to a most unusual variety of emission nebulosity (it looks almost like a series of scratches in the photographic emulsion on the Mount Palomar plates); it is probably at a distance of only three thousand light years from our sun. Number three on the list is the

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source identified with the supernova explosion of the Crab nebula. Other known discrete radio sources are identified with galaxies outside our own, or with fine filamentary emission of nebulosity in our own Milky Way system. The striking fact about all identifications to date is that highly turbulent masses of gas are involved in every case.

Here is where we must stop our story of the birth and youth of the new science of radio astronomy. It is a great privilege to be participating in the development of a wholly new and fresh approach to the study of the universe. Already radio astronomy has extended our knowledge of our sun and has taught us much that is new about our Milky Way system. But most remarkable of all, it has given access to a wholly new species of celestial objects, the discrete radio sources, the existence of which we had not even suspected. The old astronomy is being rejuvenated by its association with the newcomer, radio astronomy.

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The Courts and Juvenile Delinquency

IRVING BEN COOPER

IT IS GENERALLY AGREED that no higher professional service can be rendered by the courts than the protection of individuals in the possession and exercise of vital liberty—to be untrammeled in thought, activity, and movement within such areas as the community, through law, guarantees. This involves a double obligation: to protect the individual against the community as well as the community against the individual.

As populations have increased and the tools of modern life have become power-driven, even split-second irresponsibility can have lethal consequences. Standards of accountability have been raised to levels that prove uncomfortable to many.

The immense spread in the range of criminal acts has increased tremendously the nature and number of cases appearing on the calendars of our criminal courts. These jurisdictions no longer deal largely with depraved and/or degenerate individuals—that is, with persons congenitally or by habit unable or unwilling to conform to community minimums of behavior. A large proportion of today's criminal cases concern defendants involved in strictly contemporary situations, the full outlines of which many of them do not understand, and—even more important—situations so new and uncharted that the legislatures and administrative bodies which pronounce the prohibited acts and establish regulations regarding them have not been in a position to think them through.

In his *Autobiography*, William Carlos Williams tells this story:

> An old friend of my father's once said to me when I was one day raving against a flagrant miscarriage of justice in our local courts, "Willie, what do you think you can get in a court of law?"
>
> "Why the least you can ask for," I said, "is common justice."
>
> "Oh no," he replied, "you won't get justice, that's impossible. All you'll get is the best that is made available in your locality."

✪ IRVING BEN COOPER, formerly magistrate of New York City, is now the Chief Justice of the Court of Special Sessions of that city.

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While it must always remain the function of the community through its representatives to define the areas of vital liberty, since these are the gifts of the community to itself, the testing ground of regulations is their effect on the whole social structure. Effects are to be discovered only by the patient and meticulous examination of results. The scientist can make his ten-thousandth experiment in the laboratory previous to announcing his formula or equation. In contrast, legislatures first publish the formula, after which courts are the test tubes. Society has great need for the assistance of its best legal talents to study the situations with which statutes are devised to deal. The law, like other arts, lags behind the inventiveness of matter and of human nature. It is only by returning to situations that a professional person can escape the net of his professional procedures. It is easier to fall back on his pharmacopoeia than it is to study the social structure.

When a justice begins to fear that a sentence he is about to impose cannot, in view of the known facts, be appropriate or fitting, his professional sense is outraged. Insofar as a sentence is a prescription for remedial treatment of the crime as a given personality syndrome, judges need information about the constitution of the delinquent and the extent of his moral involvement. This is particularly true for the first offender. How normal, in physical health, mentality, emotional stability and capacity for sustained effort, is he? What were the provocations provided by the complainants and by the community in which he was reared and which set the behavior patterns after which he molded himself? Were strife and thievery, as with the Spartans, the "mode" of the neighborhood—a black eye a decoration and not a reproach? What of the cultural and civic resources of the neighborhood: the religious institutions in which moral values and codes are taught, exemplified and highlighted with festival? the schools, playgrounds, political clubs, public libraries, police, sanitary and other services? What effect do these have upon him now? What capacity for sound living has he shown to date? What is his ability to learn to integrate new experiences? What is his moral potential? What resources will be needed to free this potential? Who stands ready to help him? Can he learn faster in the community or does he need to be withdrawn from associa-

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tions and conditions in which his character has been formed? What kind of community will give him the support he must have? What incentives can it provide to help energize his will?

The juvenile offender has been with us since the day of Cain and Abel. The biochemistry of youth is keyed to lust, violence, acquisitiveness, tempestuous and ill-considered actions. Among the costs of carrying youth over the decade of transition from childhood into the beginning of responsible maturity is an incalculable mass of material and social wreckage—demolished family cars, increased insurance rates, wanton destruction of household, commercial and community property, medical bills growing out of carelessness and foolhardy exploits, irresponsible pregnancies and births. Families, relatives, friends and neighbors absorb a major share of these costs. This situation is age-old, and the community, in effect, has adapted itself. Crime is that one-eighth of the iceberg of human cussedness whose ravages are put down and added up in police and court records.

For every first offender brought before the court, a pre-sentence investigation ought to be a routine aspect of treatment, regardless of the degree of the crime. The objection cannot be allowed that this kind of investigation is so costly that there is no hope of its being generally applied. Lack of it costs millions in money and untold years of human suffering and community apprehension. It must be attempted, and attempted on a national scale, because only so, at this stage of our understanding of human behavior, can society acquire the kind of knowledge that will enable it to heal itself of lesions set up by cherished social habits of waywardness, greed and irresponsibility.

I do not believe that the average citizen senses the role that crime plays as a national problem. It exists on a scale so enormous that it is difficult to grasp. It can reasonably be estimated that $20 billion annually is the cost of crime in this country. This represents a cost of $495.00 for each family in the United States; for every $1.00 spent on education, $1.82 goes to crime; for every $1.00 donated to churches, $10.00 goes to crime.

As for figures concerning youth in crime, of the 1,110,675 persons

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arrested in 1953, 7.8 per cent were under 18 years of age; 13.3 per cent were under 21 years of age; and 23.1 per cent were under 25 years of age. The group under 18 years of age accounted for 19.4 per cent of all robberies, 36.9 per cent of all larcenies, 47.8 per cent of all burglaries, 52.6 per cent of all auto thefts. Nearly one-half of the persons arrested for crimes against property involved people who were under 21 years of age.

One of the real problems presented constantly to these courts is to be able to recognize the innate potential of individual offenders for moral rehabilitation, and the kind and extent of family and community support available to them in their efforts to re-establish themselves. There is often little difference in the offenses and the superficial attitudes of persons who are widely different in their human needs. Though rounded up by the same department-store detective for the same offense, the little stenographer who is excited about giving up her job for marriage and a family; the erratic and superficially charming woman whose act is the culmination of a long and progressive series of impositions and thefts against family, relatives and friends; and the sheltered widow who, until the death of an indulgent husband, has never had a possessive impulse thwarted, represent far from identical situations.

The establishment of degree of legal culpability will not solve the problem of how these three persons are to be assisted to manage themselves and to establish a sound position in the community. Until the extent of character deterioration is known and the probable nature of the remedial measures needed to meet the condition is determined, the court cannot complete its mission with assurance.

The great mass of offenders consists of persons who have not made very good use of their opportunities and who are prone to give vent to their feelings at slight provocation. They accept the easiest way out of trying situations. They have never really faced up to life as a challenge.

A common factor in most of these cases is that, set against the life situation, the criminal charge lacks major importance. Where there is so much deep-seated misery, one additional increment does not

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seem to matter too much. The life situation may inhere in the defendant's relations to his mother or father, to his family tradition, to his neighborhood associates, to the social situation of his school or shop or other place of employment, to the standards of the community as these are reflected in magazines, papers, movies, actions of important people, envy of others. Treatment involves dealing with these primary causes.

The need of these defendants for the help of society and the court is greater than that of the morally sensitive and the family-bolstered individuals. For these misguided defendants are in great peril—the peril of rejecting and being rejected by the community.

An important consideration in the search for a remedy is the public attitude toward crime. People deny it in themselves, turn away from anyone accused or suspected, are willfully ignorant of its varieties or treatments, and prefer to believe that it does not exist. To consider crime by youth as something foisted on an innocent community, rather than as an aspect of its own thought of itself and its own action, is to be naive beyond sanity.

The community's attitude toward youthful offenders, like its treatment of youth generally, is a mixture of softheartedness, exasperation, wounded resignation and sadistic pleasure in punishment. Once a complaint is issued against the young offender, the good forces about him shrink and evil forces are alerted. Those he has injured are naturally outraged; the parents of susceptible children become fearful; the godly draw their garments around them; the evil-minded, anxious for social support, welcome a convert; and the police close in.

For his part, the slow learner will not be convinced only by statistics about proportions of good men and good women, and the availability of jobs, recreation, straight-shooting and loyal pals and friends, honorary membership in community institutions and affairs. He must experience these values—and the invitations must meet him a little more than half way. He is easily rebuffed, easily scared off, easily bored. Only as he is brought into relations of responsibility with people and institutions, and so gains a realistic acquaintance with actual social norms, can he start to build on his new evaluation of society.

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The court must command his attention through the period required for him to revise his image of himself and to gain a working foothold in the community's life. The court that through its probation department can carry a young first offender to the point where he is ready to meet life's challenges "on his own" has "saved a life." This kind of working on the foundations is not done cheaply. It costs blood and money. It very seldom costs as much as one year in a reform school or a penitentiary, surely a bargain in moral healing. Over-punishment is particularly useless in dealing with youth. Ineptitude in the treatment of young offenders can easily mis-educate an entire generation.

A delinquent is usually very well aware that he has made a mess of at least one situation, and, he suspects, of others. The botched situation once was rosy with promise. But he cannot live in it any longer; he must move out into another compelling dream. A famous Scottish divine once preached a sermon entitled "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection." What the delinquent needs above all else is that "new affection." No one, least of all a disappointed delinquent, can desire forgiveness or crave "reinstatement" for more than a little while. What he wants is job status, a sweetheart, wife, children, a house and garden. These dreams, once lighted, have a steady incandescence.

The health of the community lies in the absence of disease, rather than in its resources for isolating the sick and providing for their cure. Crime is beginning to be understood as an aspect of man's mental-emotional-moral nature. This nature, assailed by many forces both within and without his bodily frame, is susceptible to many infections. Some are capable of destroying their victim, and more important still, of infecting others. Public health authorities have learned to follow a typhoid or other "carrier" from state to state, even across the nation, once they have become aware of his existence. We follow the determined offender through his fingerprints, but not the youth in his most infectious stage.

Juvenile crime is crime at the source. The youthful criminal may be self-infected, but he has frequently been infected by another, or he may have been conditioned by the mores of his gang or his neighborhood or even his family. He may even be so naive and unac-

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quainted with morality as not to be aware of his entrance into the age of responsibility.

It is in the courts that the dramas behind the figures presented in the annual reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and in the local police reports on which the national profile is based, that the significance of these figures unfolds and takes on life. And it is from the court records that cities, towns and villages might, if they wish, learn what kind of crimes are committed, who are committing them, the conditions that breed or facilitate certain crimes, and the community prophylaxis called for to prevent them by promoting the community's moral health and capacity to resist evil temptations.

Unfortunately for many courts, the law now provides the tool, but not the motor and the "juice" to run it. We have a one-half-where we should have a ten-horsepower motor. In other words, the law does not make it mandatory upon the community to provide the resources needed to make valid its instinct to help.

The pity of it is that there is ample good will in our states and cities to authorize the necessary appropriations. For it is not at all inaccurate to say that communities, like parents, are as yearningly afraid of youthful offenders as offenders are of them. The youth has not altogether repudiated the community, and the community has not altogether disowned him. Both are on the defensive. The youth needs assurance that he has worth and the power to compensate for his fault. The community needs assurance that the offender understands he has been out of step and that he wants to get back into line. For the community, in the shape of the parents with adolescent children, is all too conscious of the narrow line that separates its own youngsters from the youthful lawbreaker. This insight can change the community's attitude toward the court's functions and needs.

Not until courts throughout the nation are adequately staffed with the professional skills I have pleaded for will we be able to distinguish the youthful offender with good moral potential, who can be safely returned to the community to line up with the orderly citizen, from the hair-trigger, perverted or psychopathic first offender, who needs institutionalized care. Yes, "Possibilities of mur-

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der and desperate love are inside all the least likely skulls." As things stand now, the courts can do little to minimize recidivism; they cannot complete their mission with assurance.

It is high time we translated into overt action that prophetic utterance by Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes:

> The Supreme Court of the United States and the courts of appeal will take care of themselves. Look after the courts of the poor, who stand most in need of justice. The security of the Republic will be found in the treatment of the poor and ignorant; in indifference to their misery and helplessness lies disaster.

A judge speaks out with equal candor when he warns that we continue the present ineffective approach to these throbbing issues only at our great peril. How true the warning of 125 years ago from the *London Times*:

> The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginnings. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity, and overbearing men tolerated with complacence, springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter perceive and lament and resist in vain. At present, common minds no more see a crushing tyranny in a trivial unfairness or a ludicrous indignity, than the eye uninformed by reason can discern the oak in the acorn, or the utter desolation of winter in the first autumnal fall. Hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. Let it alone and it stands on record. The country has allowed it and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation it finds itself gagged with the record of its own ill compulsion.

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Arthur Griffith: *Irish Statesman*

PADRAIC COLUM

IN THE YEAR 1899, a young man of twenty-six might be seen on the steps of the National Library, Dublin, with three or four friends about him. He was, as one of these friends noted, "stocky, straight, deep-chested, wearing glasses that hid the lurking humour of his grey-blue eyes." The squareness of his build was emphasized by the squareness of his chin—a remarkable feature. His name was Arthur Griffith, and he was called "Dan" by those about him.

Arthur Griffith was the son of a Dublin printer, and he himself earned his living as a compositor. Back from South Africa, where he had spent eighteen months working as a printer, editor, and a sort of overseer on a job connected with mines in Johannesburg, he was now ready to start a small weekly journal on a capital of thirty-five pounds.

The political situation as the century ended should be recalled. Just as Charles Stewart Parnell was about to gain for Ireland a measure of autonomy then phrased as "Home Rule," there had been the debacle in which that great political leader was destroyed. Nationalist Ireland was suffering from a sense of disappointment and loss, mixed with a sense of guilt in the repudiation of Parnell's leadership. That the country did not sink into torpor was due to the emergence of leaders who devoted themselves to causes other than the political. There was Douglas Hyde to remind the people that, as they strove for political autonomy, they were losing their cultural heritage, and to found a new and hopeful league to safeguard it; there was William Butler Yeats, directing attention to the creation of a national literature through which Ireland could express herself, and, in expressing herself, intensify her national being; there was Standish O'Grady, showing that Irish history had an antique and noble content. Though destined to make an impressive mark on the next decade of Irish history, this

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cultural movement as yet had no great support. In Dublin a viceroy and his court dominated the social scene; the government of the country was administered through a bureaucracy, entrance to which had for its first qualification an unyielding opposition to the national aspirations of the bulk of the Irish people. The official representatives of Irish nationalism, the Parliamentary party, itself divided, spent its time in the House of Commons trying to bring pressure on one or another of the British parties to put through a Home Rule bill.

At the time when Parnell was developing the tactics that made him a dominating figure in the House of Commons, and while Arthur Griffith was still serving his apprenticeship to the printing trade, a group of Dublin schoolboys got together to absorb the *mystique* of Irish nationalism from each other and from books that were in the patriotic canon. They went from reading clubs to literary societies, keeping the same personnel; about 1906, they formed the mature and stabilized Celtic Literary Society. Prominent at all stages in this development were two young men, Arthur Griffith and William Rooney. The Celtic Literary Society, for all it was worth, was back of the plans that Arthur Griffith and William Rooney now formed.

They launched a four-page weekly, *The United Irishman.* Rooney had an all-day job in a railway office, and Griffith kept up his typesetting. The pair wrote practically the whole of the first issues, and Griffith set up the journal. Weeklies came and went in the Ireland of that day. *The United Irishman,* however, had points that made for durability. Its conductors, being of "the movement" themselves, were able to appeal to the young men and women whose enthusiasm had been kindled by the new evangel. Both were dedicated to a faith in the destiny of Ireland. William Rooney was a young man of consuming ardor; Arthur Griffith, one of persistence and steadiness, who had also the equipment of a great newspaperman.

Griffith was a man of reflection and wide knowledge. Winston Churchill, who was to know him when he was approaching fifty, spoke of his deep knowledge of history and European polity. Bibliophile P.S. O'Heagerty said he "had read everything." Another

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bibliophile, Seumas O'Sullivan, noted his extraordinary knowledge of eighteenth-century literature and his ability to supply forgotten lines in obscure poets of the time, when their works were being quoted. This fund of knowledge was due not only to the books he picked up on the quays in Saturday afternoon promenades and to hours of reading in the National Library, but to a memory that was extraordinarily retentive. And his memory was not only for what he read. He had a musical bent—his mother had distinct musical cultivation—and he could always whistle jigs, reels and planxties that he picked up from itinerent players. He had access to an intellectual circle. Maud Gonne in her rooms in Clare Street received political figures, poets and scholars, among them William Butler Yeats and that brilliant young man who was to make the outstanding version in English of Plotinus, Stephen MacKenna; and Arthur Griffith had belonged to that circle. As for his physical being, it was robust then and continued to be robust. He went into the sea even on winter mornings, and in spite of his short sight was a good swimmer; with companions he tramped over the Dublin hills and bicycled through two or three counties. He played a good game of handball. His remedy for a fever he had had in Africa was to drink a bottle of quinine and then play handball for hours.

In a couple of months, *The United Irishman* became an eight-page weekly, and outstanding men of the movement, Yeats among them, wrote for it. After a few years of collaboration in the publication, William Rooney died, leaving Arthur Griffith with a deep sense of personal and national loss. But before this, in November, 1900, using the Celtic Literary Society as a nucleus, Griffith gave nationalist Ireland a new organization.

It was a union of twenty nationalist societies, and the name it gave itself was Cumann na nGaedheal (the Bond of the Gaels). The old Fenian leader, John O'Leary, was its president; it had an auxiliary, a women's organization, headed by Maud Gonne. The Cumann magnetized fresh and creative forces; the beginning of the National Theatre that Yeats was to make famous was under its auspices. Through the Cumann, Griffith, in 1902, offered the country a policy that was an alternative to an ineffective parliamentarianism and an unprepared physical force venture.

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In the year 1849, Griffith told Cumann na nGaedheal, Hungary's constitution was stripped from her. Twelve years later, when Emperor Francis Joseph ordered the Hungarians to send representatives to the Council of the Empire, the elected representatives replied, "We decline to recognize the right of the Council of the Empire to legislate for Hungary." Griffith quoted a great deal from this reply, interpreting it to this effect: "We will enter into deliberations with you only as one independent nation with another. We are not the representatives of an Austrian province. We are the representatives of the Hungarian nation." After six years of coercion on the part of the Empire, the right of the Hungarians to legislate for themselves was admitted, and they, on their side, accepted Francis Joseph as King of Hungary. Griffith concluded, "The Hungarian policy is the policy for Ireland to pursue. . . . It may involve more danger and more sacrifice than the policy of speech-making in a foreign country, but it involves no degradation, no demoralization, no sinking of principle and no abandonment of ideals." The description of Hungary's liberation through moral and passive resistance was given as a piece of history. But it is truer to say that it was a parable—a parable that illuminated the policy he proposed, one which was directed not toward the measure of Home Rule which the Parliamentary party envisaged, but toward "the restoration of Ireland to the status of a sovereign state." He demanded that "the Parliamentary Party refuse to recognize the right of the British Parliament to legislate for Ireland." This meant the withdrawal of Irish representatives from Westminster.

This policy was too much at variance with what the country had been given the habit of following to be publicly considered. But a new political idea was given currency. The plan to build up the nation from within went with the time; the plan was a manly one. And there was more in Griffith's speech than recommendation: figures of resistance had been dramatically evoked.

But was there an Irish equivalent for what the Hungarians of 1849 took their stand on? Arthur Griffith maintained there was. In 1782, the Parliament of Great Britain had passed a Renunciation Act, by which it was declared that henceforth they could not have

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authority over the Parliament of Ireland. In 1800, however, the Parliament of Ireland had merged itself with the Parliament of Great Britain through the Act of Union. The greatest of Irish statesmen and constitutional lawyers maintained that the Act of Union was invalid, inasmuch as no legislative body can vote away its own existence. The same point was made by Abraham Lincoln in defending the Union: "It is safe to assert that no government ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination."

O'Connell had envisaged repeal of the Union through a vote in the British Parliament. But in appealing to that body, he renounced Irish sovereignty. The British Parliament should be boycotted, Griffith maintained, and the Irish people should rehabilitate their national institutions through their own efforts. Some time in the future, more determined and more disciplined than they were at the moment, they would do as the Hungarians had done. The policy he outlined, with its stress on self-reliance and self-respect, would be there for them then. His was a long-term policy. And like such statesmen as Cavour and Deák, he knew that watchfulness could take advantage of time and circumstances.

Later, Griffith the journalist collaborated with Griffith the statesman in the production of a pamphlet that was to have great influence. Before its appearance as a pamphlet it ran serially in *The United Irishman*—"The Resurrection of Hungary." It would be a mistake to read this pamphlet as history; it is, if one is careful not to use the word in a derogatory sense, a myth—an arousing myth. To give to a country that had accepted a dependent status and had relied on external circumstances a myth that illustrated the triumph of self-reliance, and to make that myth vivid and convincing, was the most inspired thing that could be done for Ireland at the moment.

Then, in 1905, what had been known as the "Hungarian Policy" was renamed "Sinn Fein." That title, "Ourselves" or "By Ourselves" or "From Within," was an expressive one and also possessed a public appeal, inasmuch as it could be used as a slogan. The name of the journal was changed from *The United Irishman* to *Sinn Fein,* and as the Celtic Literary Society had served as a nucleus for Cumann na nGaedheal, so the Cumann served as a

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nucleus for the National Council. With a strong popular support, relying on a national discipline, the National Council now formed might be able to take over some of the organs of government and gradually oust the British from control. This, ideally, was its objective: it was the draft for a legislative and executive body. But there was not that popular support and national discipline by which alone it could function in any large way. It could, however, and did direct attention to economic and educational improvements. Griffith's addresses to it, too, helped to widen the political horizon.

From this time on, there was an eclipse of Sinn Fein as an alternative to parliamentarianism. A Liberal government had come into power but could only hold that power through an Irish vote. This was the situation that the Parliamentary party had been waiting for until the patience of the people had nearly run out. Home Rule was in the offing. The eyes of nationalist Ireland were again turned to Westminster. And so for a while we will leave the founder of Sinn Fein. But before doing this we will set down his master-idea. In words that have the depth and incisiveness of the best of statesmen's utterances, he said:

> . . . in all political movements that succeeded the Union in Ireland no institutional rallying centre for the nation was found, and so defeat always meant rout. Ireland found temporary substitutes in great men—having no institutional centre to form around, she formed around an O'Connell or a Parnell, and her safeguard depended on the men being impervious to the terror or the cajolery of her enemies and superior to the jealousies and follies of her friends. . . . Against an institution such intrigues and such follies have less power of destruction, and the conclusion that the study of Irish affairs forces on me is that we cannot successfully defend ourselves until we find and form within ourselves a central point from which we may advance, beyond which, if repulsed, we cannot be driven back. It is obvious that such a centre cannot be a party one—it must be national or it will be ineffective. It must be the centre of minimum agreement.

In this passage we have everything toward which Griffith's political thought was directed: a consensus through a minimum of agreement, operating through a body that would express a collectivity and, by doing so, lift the country from dependence on the chance appearance of the exceptional man who could not but have within

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him the possibility of decadence or downfall. This historic imagination, a rare faculty indeed, was needed to understand that.

The consensus that Griffith pointed toward came, but it came as a result of changes in the political scene, changes accompanied by a shift in the temper of the people. There was the formation of the Ulster Volunteers to resist the operation of the Home Rule promised the Nationalists by the Liberal government; there was the formation of the National Volunteers to keep the way clear for the projected measure; there was the formation in Dublin of the Citizen Army to prevent police interference with labor demonstrations. There was the tremendous happening of the European War. And in 1916, there was the insurrection in Dublin, headed by James Connolly, Padraic Pearse and Thomas MacDonagh.

The active leaders of this insurrection were executed, with the exception of Eamon de Valera, who was discovered to be an American citizen; and hundreds of prominent Nationalists were arrested and imprisoned in England and Wales. Less than a year later they were liberated and permitted to return to Ireland. Those who returned were broken from the political routine and wanted a more activist program. With the election of Eamon de Valera for a constituency and his refusal to attend Parliament, the way was pointed to the Sinn Fein policy. A new Sinn Fein organization was set up with Eamon de Valera as president and Arthur Griffith one of the vice-presidents. In this new organization nothing was said about the Constitution of 1783. But the idea of forming institutions that would supersede British institutions in Ireland was in the program. Later came an election that wiped out the Parliamentary party and left the field clear for the implementation of the Sinn Fein policy. The members elected on the pledge of absenting themselves from Westminster formed themselves into Dail Eireann, the Assembly of the People of Ireland.

With the establishment of Dail Eireann in September, 1919, Arthur Griffith's idea became concrete, and, if one can say it of so unassuming a man, he came into his own. He was then forty-seven years of age, married, and the father of two children. An historian looking back on the period can have no doubt about his indispensability in the setting up of an Irish state. True, without the insur-

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rection and the revolutionary ferment that succeeded it, there would have been no chance—not, at any rate, in a generation—for nationalist Ireland to develop the single-mindedness and steadiness necessary to make the Sinn Fein policy effective. Through the heroism of James Connolly and Padraic Pearse and the rise of new leaders, with Eamon de Valera in the fore, the necessary psychological forces had been generated. But without the framework that Griffith's policy had offered, the revolutionary ardor would have been dissipated into mere adventurousness. Nationalist Ireland was in the mood for revolution, and the revolutionary energies had direction through Dail Eireann.

In its first session Dail Eireann did not make an impressive showing. Its attendance was sparse, for not only did the members representing Protestant Ulster fail to attend, but many of its members, including Eamon de Valera and Arthur Griffith, were in prison at the time. Its young and inexperienced members showed more enthusiasm than judgment. Still, behind them were forces that the authorities and the spokesmen for the authorities could not recognize. "The Press Gallery witnessed a solemn act of defiance of the British Empire by a body of young men who have not the slightest notion of that Empire's power and resources. The more quickly Ireland becomes conscious of the folly which elected them, the sooner sanity will return"—this was the comment of the Dublin correspondent of the *London Times*.

Dail Eireann was soon outlawed and forced to hold its sessions in secret. Its absence from the public scene did not abate its moral authority; it existed, and would continue to exist, undercover and in the minds of the people. A ten-member ministry was appointed, and under its direction the policy of nullifying the organs of British administration in Ireland and setting up their own succeeded to a significant extent.

When Griffith first discussed the implications of Sinn Fein as a national policy, John O'Leary had expressed doubts as to the ability of the Irish people to implement it in the face of an entrenched opposition. At that time it would have been quite beyond their ability. But now there was passion and solidarity; and these, with direction, meant the ability to prevail against opposition.

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A National Loan was launched and subscribed to, in spite of the fact that newspapers were suppressed for referring to it, that all the resources of Dublin Castle were employed to prevent the banks from handling it, and that the police harried itinerent organizers. A decree of Dail Eireann ostracized the Royal Irish Constabulary, which was used by the authorities as a quasi-military and intelligence body, and forced them out of districts which were then occupied by the Volunteers. Arbitration courts superseded the British courts in all except the northeastern counties.

After the first sessions of Dail Eireann, Eamon de Valera left Ireland on a secret mission to the United States. Arthur Griffith acted for him as president. He had a place in the ministry, of course, and presided at the meetings. But his personal influence was more important than any function he exercised. To keep Dail Eireann in existence, no matter what strains were put upon it from within or without, was his over-all concern. If the consensus that was Dail Eireann broke down, Ireland would fall back on the expedient of the hero; under a new leader's name, O'Connellism or Parnellism would dominate the country. By the steadiness of its members, and above all, by the steadiness of its deputy-president, the Dail could keep its existence and function progressively. And in all Ireland no man was more steady than Arthur Griffith. Of him the country had an image—the image of a rock.

Guerrilla warfare spread through the country, giving rise to incidents that startled the publics of Great Britain and the United States. A coalition government in Great Britain began to move toward pacification, and the Irish leaders laid down the policy that a settlement could be reached only through a treaty, thus insisting, like the Hungarian leaders of 1861, on a national status. At the end of 1920, Eamon de Valera returned to Ireland and resumed his place as president of Dail Eireann. The British government would not enter into negotiations leading to the recognition of an Irish republic, and the bulk of Irish Nationalists were not now in a temper to accept dominion status. Eamon de Valera worked out a compromise solution: Ireland should enter an "external" relationship with the British Commonwealth, being associated with it for the purpose of defense through the head of the

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Commonwealth, that is, the King. And there was another major problem involved—that of "essential unity": a separate government had been set up for the six northeastern counties; how was this government to be integrated in an all-Ireland government?

Headed by Arthur Griffith, the plenipotentiaries of Dail Eireann conferred in London with the ablest team that Great Britain could put up at the time, one that included Lloyd George, Winston Churchill and Lord Birkenhead. The negotiations were long, lasting from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, 1921. The effort involved on both sides was exacting—research, organization of material, exposition, argument, dialectic, impromptu that could be pushed to some conclusion, the sizing up of personalities, the making of decisions that would lead to other decisions. What the Irish effort was directed toward was a commitment on the part of the British to "essential unity," which meant some arrangement by which the Northern government would participate in an all-Ireland parliament, or else "external association," which meant only a nominal relationship with the British Commonwealth. These were not separate principles; they were alternatives: for the sake of "essential unity," the Irish were prepared to enter the Commonwealth on the same terms as other member states; for the gaining of "external association," which was conceived as keeping the republic in being, "essential unity" could be left in suspension. But it would have to be, in Eamon de Valera's words, "either this or that." On the British side there was a limit beyond which the negotiators would not go because their party, their parliament, their public would break them if they did, leaving all that had been done in Downing Street unfinished business. Areas of agreement could be enlarged, and it was for the Irish negotiators particularly to use all their intelligence, information, skill and, ultimately, their strength of mind to enlarge them.

A minimum pledge of adherence to the British Commonwealth through an oath of faithfulness (not allegiance) to the King as head of the Commonwealth was devised. And as for Northern separatism, that seemed to be taken care of by a projected boundary commission that, it was expected, by narrowing the area under the Northern government's control, would force that government

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to make some arrangement with the rest of Ireland. It was obvious that the British could go hardly any further with the Irish negotiators. And on their side, the Irish could not venture to put their signatures on a document that did not contain either "this or that"—either essential unity made explicit or an association with the British Commonwealth that would be merely external. Then one man agreed to sign the Articles of Agreement: he was the leader of the Irish plenipotentiaries. "Do I understand, Mr. Griffith, that though everyone else refuses, you will nevertheless agree to sign?" "Yes, that is so, Mr. Prime Minister." With this decision, the first agreement in centuries between the two countries was made possible.

There are decisions and decisions: some come out of such depth of character, understanding and preparation that they stand, and, registered, make for new and transforming forces. So it was with Arthur Griffith's decision on the night of December 6, 1921. A failure to make a decision then or a decision made without the complete commitment of a wise and brave man would have left Ireland morally and politically unsure of herself. "No man and no series of laws," he had declared in that comprehensive address delivered at the first convention of the National Council in 1905, "can make a nation out of a people that distrusts itself." Sixteen years afterward, standing among the plenipotentiaries of Ireland and Great Britain, by trusting his own judgment, he did what no law and no series of laws could do. By giving the Irish people a government which would engage their faculties, and then by standing to the death for that government, Arthur Griffith made self-trust the increasing temper in a country in which initiative had been whittled away.

"Standing to the death" is literal in the case of Arthur Griffith. Nine months after the signing of the Articles of Agreement, this robust man, just turned fifty, died of cerebral hemorrhage. Opposed by the president, Eamon de Valera, he was able to get the Articles of Agreement embodied in a treaty by only seven votes in Dail Eireann. There was a split in the assembly, and the country drifted into civil war in a few months. "We have won the right of the Irish people to rule in their own country, and I am

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not going to surrender that right to any junta," Griffith kept on saying, holding back a dictatorship under one name or another. He had devoted and resolute colleagues, and through their work the new state was established. But it was established amid destruction and terrorization. Worn out by his labors, enfeebled by his confinement in the government building and suffering from insomnia, Arthur Griffith, then president of Dail Eireann (Eamon de Valera had resigned when, against his motion, the Articles of Agreement were accepted), died a few days after he had been taken to a nursing home.

The ministry he and Michael Collins had headed (Collins was killed a week after Griffith's death) brought the Free State into existence. Ten years later, Eamon de Valera, who headed the anti-treaty party, came into power through an election. Although certain modifications were made in the treaty, it was not denounced; the treaty signed in 1921 remained the basic instrument of an Irish polity. "I have signed a Treaty of peace between Ireland and Great Britain. I believe that the Treaty will lay the foundation of peace and friendship between the two nations. What I have signed I shall stand by in the belief that the end of the conflict of centuries is at hand." So Arthur Griffith said in moving that Dail Eireann ratify the agreement her plenipotentiaries had made in London.

As Hegel pointed out, "In all periods of the world a political revolution is sanctioned in men's opinions, when it repeats itself. Thus Napoleon was twice defeated, and the Bourbons twice expelled. By repetition that which at first appeared merely a matter of chance and contingency, becomes a real and ratified existence." The Anglo-Irish treaty was ratified for the second time when Eamon de Valera's party observed it in its main particulars: the agreement which Arthur Griffith resolved to sign, and which he and Michael Collins and Kevin O'Higgins, in the name of democracy, gave their lives to safeguard, remains, although the twenty-six counties have been named successively the Irish Free State, Eire, and the Republic of Ireland.

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..... Under Whatever Sky .....

IRWIN EDMAN

Mr. First, Mr. Last

Every time there is an opening of a new bridge, a new tunnel, a new throughway, one reads of someone turning up who has long been a specialist in attending such assorted cultural premières. One reads in the news of the closing down of some century-old branch line on a railroad; or again, the last streetcar embarks on its last rumbling ride, to be succeeded by sleek rubber-tired busses. One reads of a small group of specialists in finality who turn up at these terminal occasions, these small festivals that end an era.

To one follower, at least, of our rituals and mores, this passion for participating in these surrogates for first and last things, is particularly hard to realize imaginatively, to share completely. Of the two, the desire to be present at the first occasion of anything is relatively more intelligible. In some small degree, at such moments one has the tiny intimation of what Adam may be imagined to have felt on the first day of the world. He and Eve may, it is presumed, since they were all good themselves, have displayed adequate delight in the "firsts" of created goods that were all about them. Part of the pleasure must surely have been their sense that no one had ever seen these things before. The first day of creation must have made a first night in the theater look pale by comparison, though as it turned out, there was no one but the serpent to exchange critical gossip with. It is surprising that there is no Biblical record of Adam and Eve having carved their initials on some of the trees; but then, come to think of it, they had not yet yielded to the major temptation, and so minor sins were impossible to their as yet uncorrupted natures.

First-nighters, insofar as they are there to see rather than to be seen, are a modern version of the passion to be in at the beginning. But there is a paradox in initial occasions. Doubtless the most important "first" days in history were not recognized to be such by the participants. One could scarcely imagine anyone exclaiming on some June morning, say in 1375, "Isn't it wonderful to be here today? This is the beginning of modern times!" For the fact is that one is often present at the première of something in one's era or in one's life without having the slightest realization of it. "This is the thick edge of the wedge," an elderly member of the Carlton Club remarked one morning when Queen Mary was suddenly admitted to those hitherto masculine precincts. But how often does one actually realize the beginning of the new era? Many people today felt such a sense when the atomic bomb was exploded at Hiroshima; but perhaps the beginning of that came when, almost a generation ago, Einstein's theory of relativity was announced. As for one's own life, does one really remember when for the very first time one responded to a line of poetry? Does one really recall, though one often thinks one does, the very first time (no nonsense) one had a philosophic thought or fell in love?

By the same token, one is often innocent of awareness of the last time. The passion for participating in closing events is intelligible enough. It is one-third nostalgia, one-third regret, one-third pity, sometimes tinctured with a little sense of good riddance. It would be wonderful to be present at a world peace conference and to realize that this was the last one that would ever need to be held. One knows that this final occasion has only temporary finality, that there will have to be other conferences. There is no last analysis. Nor, as a matter of fact, with respect to either personal or public events, does one often remotely know

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that this is the end. One leaves a friend in perfect health and the next day one hears he is dead.

Farewell parties and ceremonials like commencements for marking the close of things are standard, but in life and history many things take French leave. There was no definite date on which there was a wake for the demise of the Roman Empire; nor, gloomy as are some of our social observers, has anybody set a date for a Black Friday to celebrate the definite collapse of civilization.

Mr. First, who specializes in beginnings, and Mr. Last, who concentrates on endings, will have to make do with small things such as the opening of a supermarket or the closing of a narrow-gauge railroad. I have good authority for believing that in larger matters it is simply world without end.

On Flying into a Calm

Sensational evidences of serenity still are reported from Britain. Only the other day Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, was quoted as saying in Rochester, England: "The hydrogen bomb is not the greatest danger of our time. After all, the most it could do would be to transfer vast numbers of human beings simultaneously from this world to another and more vital one into which they would someday go anyhow." It is a lovely solace to have these comforting words from the Archbishop. There will always be an England, and happily a Church of England, and happily a Primate who can be counted on to remind us of a world of which Edna St. Vincent Millay once asked Persephone to say to a friend of hers who had just died, "Say to her, 'My dear, my dear, It is not so dreadful here.'" Voltaire's Dr. Pangloss went to the trouble of explaining to Candide that this was the best of all possible worlds. The Archbishop intimates that this is only the second best of all possible worlds, that there is another and more vital one to which some of us are going some day anyhow. "Why not now?" the good cleric seems to ask.

But hasn't the serene Archbishop forgotten something? There is another and devilishly vital world to which some of us may go which has been in the past regarded as something worse than our present plight. Frightening as is the world we are living in, it is perhaps less hellish than the world to which some of us are destined and to which, if we have our choice, we would rather go later and in some other fashion than by way of the hydrogen bomb, and without so much company. The Archbishop would not need to be informed, but perhaps some of the parishioners might need to be reminded that this business of giving bland comfort has a long theological history. The Archbishop would doubtless not like to be classified with Job's comforters, but surely it is a quaintly calm way of minimizing the dangers of the hydrogen bomb to assure us that the worst it could do would be to facilitate a virtually unanimous escape to eternity.

The Primate has given us something to think about—but, with all due reverence, not much.

Intimacy Coast to Coast
or
Private Life in the Electronic Age

That admirable and reliable commentator Edward R. Murrow has a highly popular television program entitled "Person to Person." Through the modern technique of camera and sound track, Mr. Murrow, sitting in his studio in New York, is in conversation every Friday evening with an assorted duo of eminences. Once it will be Adlai Stevenson in his home in Illinois, followed by a prize fighter; another time Archbishop Cushing in his bishop's mansion in Boston and Lily Daché in her distinguished apartment in New York. On another occasion it will be an eminent and elderly historian and a best-selling young novelist, or a ventriloquist and a philosopher. These little interviews are remarkable peeks into the private sitting rooms, almost the private lives, of public figures; and thanks to Mr. Murrow, as much as to electronics, these celebrities are displayed, apparently at least, intimately and

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off-hand. For fifteen minutes one has the illusion of talking to these fabulous fellow-creatures person to person and in their own apartments or habitats.

In our time, gossip columns and personal interviews flourish for the same reason that this television program is popular. In our complicated society, we know people chiefly by their public masks, and it is a pleasure to find them, to be able to see them, for the moment *en pantoufles,* in the informality of their fourteen-room apartments, in their second-best mink coats, or in their second-best English.

Well, the thing may go too far. "Divinity doth hedge a king," but not the king who appears every couple of days on television; and, this being the age of folksy revelations about the little weaknesses of the great, very soon the king begins to be indistinguishable from the father in the family next door or in one's own. Even if the senators who appeared on the television hearings had done much better than they actually did, the Senate must now seem a little less august to millions of Americans than it did before. As for authors, it would be good for them perhaps if we turned back from their personalities, however piquant and enjoyable, to their books, which are presumably the origin of our being interested in them at all.

We have come to notice too much what is irrelevant. We ignore what matters most about the public figures to whom we are so absurdly glad to have a moment's private access. Besides, the awful surmise enters our heads that the mass-medium intimacy is not real intimacy but standardized informality; it is a public mask that has become highly merchandisable in our time. The production of that enticing personality on the television screen shows the earmarks of expert public relations. Famous actors teach a President how to be, or how to seem to be, like one of us.

It is a relief, after reading a literary gossip column or seeing a personal interview on television, an intimate tête-à-tête made possible by split-second timing and a large camera crew, to take down Homer from the shelf. We do not even know if he was one or more poets. Seven cities claim Homer as their native son, and all we really know about him is that he was blind, if we know that. But blind or not, we read him for his anonymous seeing-eye, as we read Shakespeare not to get to know the citizen of Stratford, the theatrical entrepreneur in London, but the immortal and—so far as personal gossip is concerned—virtually anonymous poet.

For Some Reason or Other

"For some reason or other. . . ," my friend remarked about something or other, and I began to reflect on how often we use the phrase, how loosely we use it, and why we use it at all. We say "for some reason or other" just as I have used the phrase "something or other" in the first sentence of this paragraph. "Something or other" means "thingamabob," when one knows something, half remembered, half guessed at. "For some reason or other the post office did not forward your letter." We mean of course that there was no reason at all for their not forwarding it, or that any reason the post office might give would be highly suspect to begin with, that they might perhaps try one reason and if that were unconvincing, supply another. Often when we use the phrase "for some reason or other" we intimate that we could give the reason if we felt like it, although we are not bound to do so at all: "For some reason or other he got married"; "For some reason or other he went to sea," or "into philosophy," or "to Timbuktu," or "into the collecting of cigar bands." We intimate that we could, if we would, give the inside story, one that would make sense of what has seemed silly or trivial or meaningless.

Both theologians and skeptics looking around at the impressive variety of absurdities in the universe have sought some explanation, some reason; but every once in a while philosophers throw up their hands and throw in the sponge and like Satan exclaim, "Chaos be thou my God," or like the Existentialists, "Absurdity be thou my reason." But "for some reason or other" this does not seem satisfactory.

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Dante and the Modern Idiom

DANTE'S INFERNO. Translated by John Ciardi. Introduction by Archibald T. MacAllister. *New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 288 pp. $4.50. Mentor Books. $.50.*

Reviewed by EDMUND FULLER

Let it be said at once that John Ciardi has made a major contribution to the resources of Dante in English. For this, all must be grateful, as also for the fact that beside the handsome hard-bound edition stands a mass-market paper volume.

Except for the few who may be masters of medieval Italian, any translation of Dante must be weighed as a poem in English. It is so that I approach Mr. Ciardi's work, which I think must be located in the context of other translations and closely compared to the one that most closely resembles it.

The *Comedy* and the *Inferno* (which has been more frequently translated than the entire work) have been done in prose, in the Spenserian stanza, in Miltonic blank verse, in *terza rima* and various compromises therewith. H. F. Cary's blank verse long held rank as the "standard." (I associate it with the large Doré illustrations which were the anatomy lesson for many of my generation.) Longfellow's version has its partisans. Of the Miltonic school, the most modern and highly praised is Lawrence Grant White's, of 1948, being the complete *Comedy*.

The rhymers have included Hazeltine, Anderson, Wright, and Binyon, and the most recent, Dorothy Sayers, whose version I propose to make my measuring stick for Ciardi, the more so as I find it insufficiently mentioned in the Ciardi reviews. I believe that for those most deeply interested, the Sayers and Ciardi translations can be read together with great profit. The Sayers (1949) is available in the Penguin Classics at $.65.

Mr. Ciardi is of the compromise rhyme school. He uses a loose stanza, rhyming first and last lines only. Where Dante ties off each canto with a single line, Ciardi finishes each with a two-line rhyme. Of the triple rhyme he says: "One rendering into English might save the rhyme or save the tone of the language, but not both. . . .Inevitably the language must be inverted, distorted, padded, and made unspeakable in order to force the line to come out on that third all-consuming rhyme."

Conversely, Miss Sayers, in a brilliant and far more extended discussion of the entire rhyming and translation problem than Mr. Ciardi offers, argues: "I have stuck to the *terza rima*, despite the alleged impossibility of finding sufficient rhymes in English—it is, after all, less exacting in this respect than the Spenserian stanza, which nobody dreams of calling impossible . . . the rhymed couplet, or any stanza-form other than Dante's own, involves the placing of stanza-breaks at places where he did not choose to place them. I agree, therefore, with Maurice Hewlett, that for the translator, the choice is '*terza rima* or nothing.' "

Let's see a few comparative stanzas. From Canto VIII, where Dante is left trembling outside the gates of Dis, while Virgil parleys within:

Ciardi: So the sweet Guide and Father leaves me here,
and I stay on in doubt with yes and no
dividing all my heart to hope and fear.

Sayers: My gentle father's gone! I'm left distrest,
Abandoned here! Horrid perhapses throng
My doubtful mind, where yeas and noes contest.

In Canto XXIV, the 7th Bolgia, or Bowge, the description of the Phoenix:

Ciardi: It lives on tears of balsam and of incense;

✪ EDMUND FULLER, novelist and critic, is author of *Brothers Divided, A Star Pointed North, George Bernard Shaw* and other books.

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in all its life it eats no herb or grain,
and nard and precious myrrh sweeten its cerements.

Sayers: Living, nor herb nor grain is food for her,
Only amomum and dropping incense-gums,
And her last swathings are of nard and myrrh.

Sometimes they are close, as in Canto III, among what Ciardi calls the "opportunists," but Sayers, more aptly, the "futile," who will not choose:

Ciardi: This is the place I told you to expect.
Here you shall pass among the fallen people,
souls who have lost the good of intellect.

Sayers: We've reached the place I told thee to expect,
Where thou shouldst see the miserable race,
Those who have lost the good of intellect.

Ciardi adopts a completely modern idiom. Sayers, for cause, employs some old forms, but she has retained a sense of common speech, and is as freely vulgar, where Dante is, as Ciardi. Reading them parallel, one will prefer the stanzas of one to the other distinctly, at times, and otherwise will find little to choose. I submit that, over all, they are of remarkably similar merit, and this being so, am inclined to give a slight edge of credit to Miss Sayers for her feat in employing the triple rhyme without, on the whole, any more inversions, distortions, or paddings than Ciardi uses in his rhyme form. Her canto endings have consistently better punch with the original single line.

A virtue of both versions is their admirable annotation and mapping of Hell. But I do believe that Miss Sayers' annotation excels in merit even the good work of Mr. Ciardi, and her biographical-historical-interpretive introduction far outreaches the scope of the otherwise good introduction contributed to Ciardi by Archibald T. MacAllister.

Ciardi's translation may be read with a slightly greater ease and congeniality by some readers. I urge the parallel reading. Miss Sayers is working on the rest of the *Comedy*. I greatly hope that Mr. Ciardi is doing the same.

An Examination of Negro Education

THE NEGRO AND THE SCHOOLS. By Harry S. Ashmore. With a foreword by Owen J. Roberts. *Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 228 pp. $2.75.*

Reviewed by PRISCILLA ROBERTSON

The recent Supreme Court decision disallowing segregation in the public schools will have the effect not only of freeing Negroes to attend the same classrooms as the whites, but also of forcing them to do so—of "forcing them to be free," as was advocated by Rousseau. From now on, they —especially their children—will have to accept scratches and difficulties which up to now an individual who wished to could partly escape. This is apparently the price of progress: even though the white race wishes to atone for its past sins, it cannot do so without inflicting some new pain on its ancient victims. It is our job to eliminate as much of that pain as possible, securely hoping that the wrench of readjustment will be fruitful as the misery of eternal frustration was not.

For instance, in Southern universities it is a common situation to find that some of the recently accepted Negro students have less good academic preparation, reflected in lower grades. Is it fair to grade these students by the same standard as the whites? On the other hand, is it fair not to?

Again, when certain Negro children were given an IQ test, their average score rose by seven points when the tester was one of their own race instead of white. May it not,

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then, do an injustice to a Negro child to make him get all his learning from a white teacher? Of course problems like these are transitional ones, but they are nevertheless acute, and they cannot be solved by any court of law.

A few years ago the Ford Foundation commissioned a group of scholars to examine Negro education, and then got Harry Ashmore, of the *Arkansas Gazette,* to write up the findings. The result is a readable volume, with sixty pages of statistics at the end, and thus useful both to citizens who want a bird's-eye view of the history, legal decisions, and present prospects of Negro education, and to those professional workers who need reference materials. The fact that the book was written before the Supreme Court decision does not reduce its value, since the whole tone of the work is directed toward integration as the coming step.

It was not until the thirties when the white conscience (prodded by the Negro conscience) began to try to make "separate but equal" mean *equal* on any large public scale. In 1935, for the first time a court granted a Negro student the right to go to a non-segregated school when no equal facilities were available. Not until 1949 was there a successful attack on segregation as innately unequal, when a Negro student was ordered admitted to a white law school on that ground.

From 1949 to 1954, Negro students have attended Southern universities with far less incident or strain than the administrators had dared to hope for. However, when Mr. Ashmore states that no public or private Southern educational institution sought to abandon segregation until the step seemed inevitable, he must be forgetting efforts by various religious schools, notably some Catholic school boards, which lobbied courageously for years to get their Southern legislatures to rescind laws which provided penalties up to $1,000 a day for an institution holding mixed classes.

The next problem will be that of the public schools. Mr. Ashmore asks effectively, What is an "equal" school? And he points out that in the great movement to equalize

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facilities for all children, the Negro-white phase is actually a minor one. For the thirteen Southern states, in the year 1953-54, it would have cost $90 million to bring the Negro schools up to the level of the white ones in each community, but $240 million to bring the rural schools as a whole up to the level of the city ones, and $1,300 million to bring Southern schools as a whole up to the average of the rest of the nation.

By far the most promising way to close these gaps is federal aid to education, long advocated by liberal Southerners and long resisted by Southern congressmen lest it bring about Negro equality. Now that their worst fears are realized anyway, they may be more willing to accept federal help.

Mr. Ashmore concludes his study with case histories of various Northern cities that have recently integrated their schools. Examples run all the way from Tucson, where careful community planning resulted in a transition without a hitch, to Cairo, where violence broke out and state police had to be called. One problem frequently met, not yet touched on by the courts, is the integration of the Negro teacher. In places where this has been tried, it has often been very successful, Mr. Ashmore's prize example being of a town where the P.T.A. petitioned the school board to rotate a popular Negro teacher among all the white schools. Another problem is that many white parents fear not so much the mixture of races as the introduction of Negro slum children into their middle-class schools.

The moral of all this is clear, though Mr. Ashmore is too objective to state it in so many words. Any community that wishes to have a peaceful transition period must plan carefully for it. In Louisville, for some years white Catholic high schools have scheduled basketball games with colored public schools, complete with athletic banquets and non-segregated audiences. It is such planning for small groups that counts. Changing attitudes is always hard, but at least some of the experimentation has been done; and some of the techniques are available for those who wish to use them in this critical period which must surely result in a stronger, healthier nation for us all.

Delightful and Instructive Colloquies

DIALOGUES OF ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD. As recorded by Lucien Price. *Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press-Little, Brown and Company. 396 pp. $5.00.*

Reviewed by RICHARD HUETT

In 1924 an English mathematician became an American philosopher, and all the world was enriched by such works as *Science and the Modern World, Process and Reality, Adventures of Ideas* and *Modes of Thought.* But that was not all, for there were those "evenings at the Whiteheads," when for thirteen years, one night a week, open house was held for students. As many as ninety-eight were recorded as attending these extra-curricular meetings, which formed one of the glories of Harvard education.

Beyond this were the Whitehead dinners, given for fellow-teachers and close friends. The *Dialogues of Alfred North Whitehead* is a compilation of the conversations heard by the editor upon these occasions. Obviously, the title of these delightful and instructive colloquies was chosen by Mr. Price to evoke associations with the work of Whitehead's philosophic hero, Plato. It is true there can be no serious disagreement over the unquestionable daring and originality of the Greek philosopher, nor can we deny the fact that it is a trick of time which placed Whitehead so late in the history of philosophy—following Berkeley, Hegel, Bergson, among others—as to make many of his ideas only *seem* derivative. The roles might easily have been reversed.

Nevertheless, I must take exception to this identification of the two men. What a vast contrast there is between the maieutic method of Socrates where, by some phenomenon peculiar perhaps to philosophy, the delivered child belongs always to the midwife, and the conversation among peers we find in the present work! Did not Socrates himself admit that he had found no man wiser than he? Nor *as* wise, he probably said under his breath.

Whitehead, on the other hand, despite an ecumenical knowledge which ranged over

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the fields of mathematics, art, science, literature, history and politics, displays the sincere humility of one who was acutely aware of "the fallacy of dogmatic finality" and that "there are no whole truths; all truths are half-truths. It is trying to treat them as whole truths that plays the devil." Having in his own lifetime seen the certitudes of Euclidean mathematics and Newtonian physics crumble before his eyes, he forever rejected absolutes. Thus his is a progressive education that constantly kept him on the *qui vive* for new ideas, new insights and new aspects as expressed by his colleagues, friends and wife.

It is this willingness to listen and learn from others that affords us the wit and wisdom of the following: "Satire is the soured milk of human kindness"; "The trouble is that so many Americans want an education not for its own sake, but in the hope of getting a better job"; "Ritual has a place in life. The deference may not be for a personality, or even for the institution; but it can be for the ideas embodied in the ceremony."

This is a joyous book, abounding with that humor he found so sadly lacking in early Hebraic literature. It might displease those professional philosophers who must have in their Whitehead such terms as "prehension," "point-events," "occasions," coinages which were forced upon him in an attempt to invent new terminologies for new concepts. But the rest of us can enjoy the hilarious account of Whitehead hoisted by his own petard when his *Aims of Education* was instrumental in defeating the move to drop Latin as a requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree, a position he now supported. And we can find him doubly blessed, for his wisdom and his wife, who possessed that rare collocation of intellect, wit and charm: Whitehead—"My wife . . . will correct me if I am in error?" Mrs. Whitehead —"Not publicly, my dear." How different might have been the Platonic legacy if Xanthippe were like her!

I enter one major demurrer. It has been remarked elsewhere that many contemporary philosophers have misunderstood John Dewey; and to me, Whitehead is no excep-

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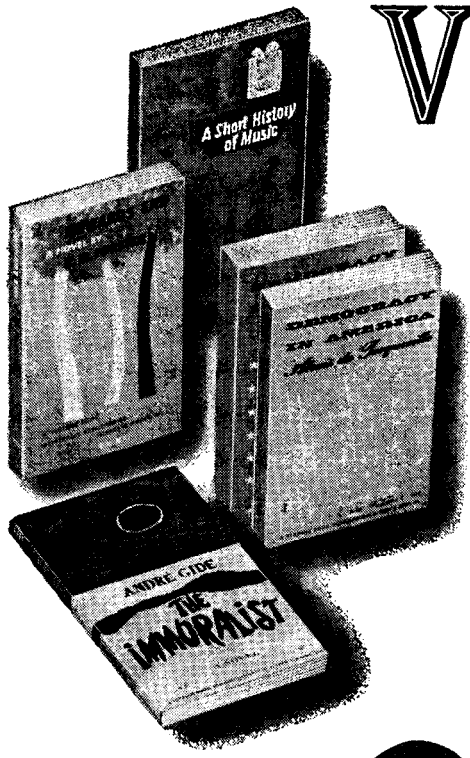

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tion. He actually accuses Dewey of favoring security and the status quo! In the light of the latter's repeated emphasis upon inquiry, upon experiment, and upon adventuring with ideas, Whitehead's conclusion becomes a *non sequitur*.

Above all, however, is the leitmotiv, the central idea reiterated throughout the *Dialogues*: that this is not a static universe, but one where process is the actuality, whose possibilities are infinite, and in which the individual is unique and unpredictable. Relevant to this is Whitehead's observation that the present generation has failed to establish a hierarchy of values, that for it there is no difference between "one fifteen minutes and another, so long as it is enjoyable." Implicit in this situation is a spiritual inanition leading to moral chaos. A fortiori, then, we need the affirmation of life's limitless potentiality and of man's untapped reservoirs of power. Like Blake, Whitehead asserts the existence of a universe in the smallest particle of matter, and a God immanent everywhere as a creative principle in constant process. Man's real function and destiny lie in his participation in this continually creative act; this gives him his "dignity and his grandeur."

The temptation to cite from this book is powerful to the point where in order to exorcise it, it must be proclaimed there is scarcely a page that does not beg for quotation. It was Kierkegaard, I believe, who once gave vent to an epigrammatic disdain of professors. That was before these *Dialogues* were published.

A Punitive Expedition

PICTURES FROM AN INSTITUTION. By Randall Jarrell. *New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 277 pp. $3.50.*

Reviewed by HENRY W. WENNING

There are almost as many good things in Mr. Jarrell's novel as there are on it. This is no little praise, since flowers of appreciation flourish like weeds on its superlatively fertile jacket.

Nevertheless, in the present case, these soft impeachments are well merited. Mr. Jarrell has verve and brilliance in great measure, and his illumination of life at Benton College is written with decision and wit. Not all these gifts, however, can obscure a certain condition of dullness which is too frequently encountered along Benton's paths and ways. Add to its other qualities the fact that this is a book which it is impossible not to put down.

The paradox arises from a form of total and permanent disability which exists at the core of this fundamentally serious novel: the characters most essential to its meaning suffer from a lack of temperament that leaves the reader generally and quietly indifferent to their fate.

Fate, in this instance, is embodied in the person of one Gertrude Johnson, who is vigorous and aggressive enough to sustain a dozen novels, if one large woman could, by herself, accomplish such a task. Miss Johnson is a sort of bitch timber wolf, with a predisposition to literature and sharp teeth which crack and crunch the defenseless innocent and the defenseless guilty, impartially. The main line of the story has to do with her querulous journey through Mr. Jarrell's spoofed-up version of a progressive college for women. Although Miss Johnson enters upon her tour of duty in the guise of an instructor, she is in reality nothing more than a novelist seeking material for her work. In this case it is devil's work, since the lady has the purpose of making people "see themselves as they really are." This is not only a professional objective, but an avocation as well; and before she has completed her term, there is not one head left at Benton that is unbloodied or unbowed.

Since a college campus is not usually without its own sharp and sanguinary spirits, the spectacle of this quarrelsome Johnsonian unleased among the faculty might be expected to provide a more exhilarating play than actually occurs. Unfortunately, the cast of characters who fill in the pages between monologues by the author and by his leading lady absorb their punishment without retaliation, almost

✪ HENRY W. WENNING is a New York businessman.

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without rejoinder. Since she, at least, hits with a very heavy hand, the end result has more the appearance of a punitive expedition than a witty walk through the groves of Academe. (It is, perhaps, a commentary on the selfishness of authors that Miss Johnson's wit is of the blunt instrument kind; the rapier variety is reserved exclusively for the author's own use, in much the same way that an actor-playwright might be expected to save the very best lines for himself.)

Needless to say, Mr. Jarrell does not share this dispirited and perhaps distempered view of his creatures. Several of them are conceived as intelligent and kindly human beings, and it would appear to have been Mr. Jarrell's conviction that they would, if not defeat, at least balance Miss Johnson's stridently negative attitude. These include, among others, the Whittakers: a pair of unworldly sociologists, who are innocent in thought and word, absorbed and vague to the degree that "Jeremy Bentham's stuffed body would not have looked ill at ease in their house"; and the Rosenbaums: refugees, musicians, creators—and counter-Johnsons in the matter of intellectuality, although the acuteness of their observations will sometimes evade the reader. Finally, there is Constance, the comprehensive embodiment of youth and beauty and gentle nature; or so the tale is told. Actually, Constance is so impalpable and so finely wrought as to escape completely any sharp individualization. Constance is as lonely as a cloud and just as aqueous.

It is the failure of Mr. Jarrell's comedy, I think, that none of these characters really comes up to scratch. If he had been able to clothe his "kind and clever" men with the same corporeality that Miss Johnson wears so impeccably and unmistakably, this would have been a novel out of the ordinary.

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FREEDOM, LOYALTY, DISSENT. By Henry Steele Commager. *Oxford. $2.50.*

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protests against the threats to liberal democracy piling up in our time. His defense of our traditional Western freedom for individual variation in thought and the necessarily related individual and group freedom for experiment in action is basically pragmatic: they have worked, and still work, better than systems which deny or radically curtail them. These freedoms keep society alive; while uniformity, conformity, universally prescribed, simply kill. The free have beaten the unfree—or at least the excessively disciplined—in the last two great wars.

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The vehemence and emotional depths of the commitment of men like Professor Commager perhaps make his work inevitably a polemic, and perhaps the polemic must be as eternal as he believes it to be. Perhaps we can alert the younger generation only by some overemphasis, some excited quality of our own.

C. B.

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V. W. N.

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would have prevented this from happening.

This book should be pondered by all Americans, but particularly those who still make heroes and martyrs of men who ignore traditions of legality, fairness and decency, and do evil for the good they think will follow—with some publicity in the bargain—whether it be John Brown or modern variations of his type.

R. L. M.

EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Paul Hazard. *Yale. $6.00.*

This is an essay on ideas in the Age of Reason. Ideas appear as events in a sequence, or rather, as integers in a process of subtraction and addition. While Christianity is called upon to justify itself, deists and atheists seem to triumph; then they too are shaken by doubts. In a world where All is manifestly *not* Right and no one is really happy, it is suspected that Reason is not enough. The Age of Sensibility is just around the corner, with all the violence attendant upon revolution. Although the kings are now pleased to be called philosophers, it will not be long before they will form an alliance to destroy Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Dr. Hazard surveys this landscape as one who is passing through it. Readers who are already acquainted with Locke, Diderot, Voltaire, and their contemporaries may find this summation of their works surprisingly superficial. In the very sweep of the view, where one landmark dovetails into another, nothing seems of permanent importance in itself.

L. S.

THE MEASURE OF MAN. By Joseph Wood Krutch. *Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.*

During the twenty-five years which have passed between the publication of Mr. Krutch's *The Modern Temper* and his new assessment of the time, the author has not radically altered his views; but he has shifted their statement from a minor to a major key. Our prevalent mood, he believes, can be described by calling our time an "Age of Anxiety." This anxiety springs chiefly from the spread of a determinist philosophy—through Darwinism, Marxism and Freudianism—which, in opposition to our personal experience, persuades us that our fate does not lie in our own hands.

Pursuing the source of our prevalent anxiety to lesser lights, Mr. Krutch attributes much of it to determinist sociologists and educators. Although he wins a number of victories over these "social engineers," he nowhere demonstrates that the anxiety of our generation has been fostered by them. The positive and heartening conclusions are based upon man's general awareness that, as a matter of personal experience, he often makes decisions, chooses among alternative courses of action, prefers one thing to another, and distinguishes between what he feels or perceives to be good and evil, beautiful and ugly, true and false.

It should be noted that Mr. Krutch does not follow up his rejection of scientific dogmatism by embracing mysticism or theology. While issuing his call to hope and courage, he stands squarely on humanist grounds.

M. L.

BOTTLE IN THE SEA. By Albert Guérard. *Harvard. $3.50.*

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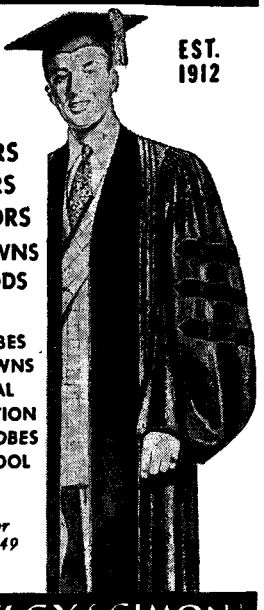

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N. K.

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The Hedgehog and the Fox derives its title from an aphorism of the Greek poet Archilochus—"The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing"—which Mr. Berlin uses to identify what seems to him the profound chasm between those writers and thinkers who relate everything to one central vision or system and those who are acutely aware of the variety of experience and who do not try to fit that vital miscellany into one pattern. He examines Tolstoy's philosophy of history and that of the French ultramontane Catholic of the early nineteenth century, De Maistre.

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Mr. Berlin discourses on all this with wisdom, wit, brilliance and extraordinary erudition, compressing all into a terse yet intelligible whole and creating a small book that is a technical feat, both of writing and of thinking. He is a fox who makes the hedgehogs clear.

I. E.

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OF WHALES AND MEN. By R. B. Robertson. Illustrated. *Knopf. $4.50.*

During a time when so many writers of nonfiction are telling of their experiences on a mountain top or the ocean floor, it is surprising that not until now has someone come forward to write of the more than twelve thousand men who go whaling each year through the seas of the South Atlantic. The whalemen themselves still read, talk about and consider Herman Melville to be their chronicler.

The relative merits of the 1950-51 whaling season, as compared with its predecessors in terms of margarine and other by-products, may well be a debatable topic. However, there is no question but that the season made its mark when one pelagic whaling expedition hired Dr. Robertson as its senior medical officer. For as a result of his training and experience as a psychiatrist, his eye for detail, and infectious curiosity, the three hundred pages of this book are loaded to the gunwales with information about the hunted and their hunters. Although Dr. Robertson gives one an uneasy moment early in the book when he refers to plunging his "psychiatric harpoon" into a whaleman "to make fast his personality for future study and dissection," he generally follows a straight and true course in interpreting what he sees, rather than in writing factual case studies.

Every chapter deserves that adjective which is used with so little discrimination —"fascinating." But the one on "The Psychopaths," which is devoted to the doctor's interpretations of why men go whaling in the first place, is outstanding.

B. S.

THE WIDOWS OF THORNTON. By Peter Taylor. *Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.*

"My people happened to be very much of the world, Miss Watkins," said Miss Patty. "Not of *this* world but of a world that we have seen disappear. In mourning my family, I mourn that world's disappearance." *The Widows of Thornton* is a Canterbury pilgrimage turned inside out, with batteries exhausted and pilgrims looking back longingly to the starting point. "I have had my world as in my time," says the Wife of Bath, but the Thornton widows, mourning the dead world of Southern traditionalism, cannot echo this satiate optimism.

Yet the effect of Taylor's stories of Thornton is not one of hopeless pessimism, largely because of the multiplicity of characters. He operates with superb confidence in the realm of human personality, presenting in all its variety and richness the eccentricities of human behavior. But, fine as the surface presentation is, he makes us aware, in a somewhat Chekhovian fashion, of the real motives, unconscious attitudes and symbolic significances underlying the appearances. Moreover, the characters are never so absorbed in their eccentricities as to lose their sense of values. They are fully aware of themselves, and, by virtue of their powers of self-analysis, are often raised from the brink of parody to a higher realm, as in the case of Aunt Bet, one of the "Two Ladies in Retirement," or the aging Negro woman, Aunt Munsie. Thornton is a highly civilized, if faded, world. It is filled with a Faulknerian variety of sisters, cousins and aunts, but their actions are not made significant by violence of style and profusion of incident. Taylor achieves his effects economically, with quiet humor, and with a saving simplicity.

T. L. S.

A SEED UPON THE WIND. By William Michelfelder. *Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.*

Andrew Carew, on whose physical pain and spiritual anguish this first novel centers, is sorely tried both as a doctor and a Catholic. Two of his patients have died under circumstances that challenge his science as well as his faith; and these misfortunes get under his skin before it has been hardened by professional experience.

Father Kesslar, with his sincere and dependable faith; Dr. Andreozzi, who professes no faith at all; the inadequate Sisters; Marjorie Butler, the nurse with whom the desperate Carew runs away—as if he does not always carry the source and secret of his hurt within him wherever he goes—all these and others help and hinder the man whose

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"problem was *all* love, not just loving a woman."

For his subject of body and soul Michelfelder has created a cast of professional men and women, but even more important, he has presented a cast of forthright and untrammeled emotions. The very substance of these pages is feeling; and, worthy or not, at times it sweeps you off your feet.

W. G. R.

THE DOLLMAKER. By Harriette Arnow. *Macmillan. $5.00.*

This story of Gertrude Nevels, a Kentucky hill woman who is forced to leave the land she loves and enter the maelstrom of war-time Detroit with her husband and five children, is a novel which gives new stature to American fiction. Varicolored facets of the whole spectrum of living and dying are revealed through the countless and frequently memorable characters who people the alley where Gertie tries to make a home for her family. However, it is a large block of cherry wood, "big enough fer the head and shoulders uv a fair-sized man" through which the reader comes to know, understand and identify with this woman whose only personal pleasure and expression is what she calls "whittlen foolishness." As life closes in on her, swirls about her, delivering one defeat after another, the figure, which by now promises to be either Christ or Judas, grows under her large, patient hands until it is complete in every detail but the face. "The man in the wood . . . seemed far away, walled off like all other life about her . . . ; the knife fumbled, a lost knife hunting a lost man in the wood; no, not lost, hiding, forever hiding."

The search for a face, the search for a reason for existence itself, is resolved in a brief and climactic conclusion, which will hold many different meanings for different readers. Mrs. Arnow and her publisher deserve the highest praise which the discriminating Gertie Nevels ever gave—"You done real good."

B. S.

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The Reader Replies

THE READER REPLIES *carries miscellaneous comments by readers and authors on various articles which have appeared in the magazine. All communications should be addressed to: The Editor,* THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, *Phi Beta Kappa Hall, Williamsburg, Va., and should not exceed 300 words in length except on request. Because of limitations of space, we cannot guarantee to print all letters received.*—EDITOR.

Practical Guideposts

Joseph Wood Krutch, in his article "Conservation Is Not Enough" [AS: Summer, 1954], sustains an admirable thesis, but it needs to be pointed up. One can agree that man ought to respect other forms of life besides his own, and still one can wish to know what to do about it. Actually, Mr. Krutch has hardly done more than embroider the principle of Albert Schweitzer, "Reverence for Life." That every living creature has as good a right to existence as the human animal is the core of the revelation that Dr. Schweitzer received while on a river trip in Africa. But he carried his logic further than Mr. Krutch has done. With his customary practical good sense, he recognized the unavoidable inconsistency in his rule of action. It is impossible for man to exist without taking other lives. Regretfully, Dr. Schweitzer kills microbes in his medical work, and animals for his meat. And so he wrote: "Man is subject to the puzzling and horrible law of being obliged to live at the cost of other life, and to incur again and again the guilt of destroying and injuring life."

Mr. Krutch confined himself to the abstract. He owes it to his readers to set up some practical guideposts along his theoretical highway. All life has a right to exist. Do we then stop trapping and poisoning gophers? Do we protect sacred cows and monkeys? Where do we draw the line? If he replies, "We shall use our best judgment as to what to destroy and what to preserve," that is what we are doing now—with mistakes, of course. If he can help us avoid mistakes, it will be by administrative advice, not by expounding a theory which involves inconsistencies.

To enunciate an abstract principle of behavior is not enough. It has to be implemented with acts. As Clement Attlee remarked recently in the House of Commons, "Agreement on general principles is a very excellent thing, but the difficulty sometimes arises in their applications."

S. G. MORLEY
Berkeley, California

Intellectual and Spiritual Ozone

In his article "A Glimpse of Incomprehensibles" [AS: Summer, 1954], Dr. George W. Corner eventually arrives at what might be called "a mood of pantheism," so expansive does he become. He handles La Mettrie somewhat syllogistically, thus appearing to lend a measure of validity to the reasoning of that arch materialist. However, Dr. Corner is adept at outguessing his reader and tantalizingly leading him on through a maze of uncertainties into a sunny glade of rounded clarification. (Let us digress a moment to say that in our opinion Dr. Corner would make a first-class suspense-story writer.)

It is good to discover a top scientist who tacitly admits the reality of an inner Light and Life, which is individually experienced and therefore incommunicable. Apparently we are all caught in a "cage of relativities." However, it is possible for the individual to transcend relative truth and rise anon into the realm of Absolute Truth. But, as said, this is purely an inner evolution and consequently not communicable in words.

All great teachers down the ages brought the same message in essence: viz., that of the intellectual and spiritual as well as the physical evolution of man, the self-conscious Thinker. This age-old, undying,

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never-changing gnosis is invariably inverted and gradually reduced to sterile theology and ritualism; e.g., from Plato, to Aristotle, to Aquinas and Thomism, completes a cycle of deterioration.

Dr. Corner's article is invigorating—a kind of intellectual and spiritual ozone. Somehow the whole timbre of his argument reminded me of the majesty and sweep of an old Vedic hymn:

> Who knows the secret? who proclaimed it here?
> Whence, whence this manifold creation sprang?
> . . . . . .
> The Most High Seer that is in highest heaven,
> He knows it—or perchance even He knows not.

B. THOMAS SHROPSHIRE
Los Angeles, California

Sinclair Lewis

In regard to my article "Sinclair Lewis: A Portrait" [AS: Spring, 1954], Mr. Bernard Sinsheimer of Hollywood inquires in your Summer issue what those "three words" were which Sinclair Lewis wrote in my copy of his book. I'm afraid I must stick to my original decision not to publicize the "three words." Someone else can tell what they were after I've gone on—at which time they might just possibly be appropriate, provided I've worked hard, written well, and fronted life like a man.

FREDERICK F. MANFRED
Minneapolis, Minnesota

★ ★ ★

The following may be a footnote of interest for Frederick F. Manfred's article "Sinclair Lewis: A Portrait" appearing in the Spring issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR:

A good many years ago Sinclair Lewis gave a talk in Constitution Hall, Washington, D. C. (On a lecture series he followed Dale Carnegie and a large part of his talk was an attack on Mr. Carnegie's "philosophy.") At the conclusion of the lecture, members of the audience were asked to submit written questions. One of the questions (and recollection says the first one) asked Lewis why he kept his hand over his mouth while speaking. Mr. Manfred may have provided the answer, as well as indicating one of the effects of the question.

Incidentally, the questions were not screened. The few that Lewis read were more or less critical of him or what he had said. Whether the chairman or Lewis ended the proceedings I don't recall, but the latter muttered something about "the insolence of ignorance."

JOHN B. CARTER
Madison, Wisconsin

A Summary of Paradoxes

Many thanks and congratulations to Alan Valentine for his wonderful satire, "A Modest Proposal for the Care and Use of Subversives" [AS: Spring, 1954]. How I wish I were presently teaching English in our public high-school system. I would substitute this timely essay for Jonathan Swift's "Modest Proposal" on the required reading list. With one clever stroke of his pen, Mr. Valentine has summarized the paradoxes of our modern concepts of Americanism and liberalism. Every young citizen of our nation should read this illuminating work. He would then be reminded of the topsy-turvy state of our democratic ideals and values.

I am looking forward eagerly to more of the same from Mr. Valentine and from the stronghold of true Americanism and intellectual freedom, THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Your magazine is a constant renewal of faith in that old adage that you cannot fool all of the people all of the time.

PAULA LIBRETT
Port Chester, New York

"Penny-Wise" or "Pound-Foolish"

Just as all Gaul was divided into three parts, so is all poetry divided into two parts, the kind I can understand and the kind I can't. Rose Burgunder's "Penny-Wise" [AS: Summer, 1954] unquestionably falls within the latter category.

Fortunately I have a lifelong friend in Ilo Orleans, a distinguished New York

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attorney who is also a poet of no mean ability. To him I appealed for an explanation of "Penny-Wise." By return mail I was favored with a letter in which Mr. Orleans confessed to a deep understanding of the abstruse abstractions of modern poetry. I quote his words below:

The poem "Penny-Wise" is very easy to understand. Perhaps you will glean the meaning better by reading my poem, enclosed, entitled "Pound-Foolish," which is obviously clear—indeed crystal clear—and bears an amazing kinship to "Penny-Wise," which inspired it.

Believing that there may be one or two other readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR who were as baffled by "Penny-Wise" as I was, you would serve them well by publishing this letter to which I append, with the gracious permission of the author, his poem "Pound-Foolish":

Hastening eventide, when wintertime's
Dread misfortune stirs, hush (you motley-
garbed pi-ped)
Unpaved is the road
On which I trap within me melodies
Unheard of oak and fang and claw.
Cast and blast beyond a brace of gophers.
The spark of distant star invigorates—
bright upon her rope—let me,
daring,
Approach her moistened nylon hose.
Foam-rubber be my answer in unfathom-
able night of nights—
Aye, cynic's bloom—
To summer morning's platinum breeze,
Pulled close to, sunken rotting hulk of
gray.
I glare. I can't abide the bastards.

ALBERT L. WECHSLER
New York, New York

Another Modest Proposal

Now tell me, what's a poor ordinary guy to think?

I was moved by the pathos of Professor Riesman's *apologia pro vita sua* in the Winter, 1953-54, issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and, of course, was at once reminded of First Lieutenant Mr. Spoker's philosophical Captain in Stevenson's fable, *The Sinking Ship*.

Should we not go further than Professor Riesman? Perhaps we should follow the example of that Southern legislator who, early one morning, was observed by a neighbor following his wife precipitately down the front steps while belaboring with a shingle that portion of his wife presented proximate to him. "Why Senator," exclaimed the neighbor, "I'm surprised at the form of activity you are pursuing this morning!" "Son," replied the Senator, pausing in his exertions, "Ah'm relibly infohmed that the Commies have come out against wife-beating. And nothing, Suh, I repeat nothing, shall fohce me to follow the Commie line." (This story is probably not true; I made it up myself.)

Yesterday I read in the Spring, 1954, issue ex-president Valentine's ingenious "A Modest Proposal for the Care and Use of Subversives." While this plan has much to recommend it, I believe it completely undervalues the danger of indoctrinating the young with ideas. I have, I think, a much safer plan.

It is widely accepted that the Communist Party is exclusively composed of subversives; the Democrats have recently been accused of twenty years of treason; many are convinced that the Republican Party has a strong minority of cryptofascists. As far as I know, no such accusations have been made against the Prohibitionist and Vegetarian Parties. Furthermore it is clear that many, if not most, of the publicly branded revolutionaries in this country are heterosexuals. From these premises it appears that we shall achieve complete protection against the spread of the disturbing ideas so much feared if we staff our colleges and schools exclusively with homosexual members of the Prohibition and Vegetarian Parties.

I respectfully submit this idea for what it is worth.

MARSTON L. HAMLIN
Lynbrook, New York

Swan Song

Your Winter, 1953-54, number is jolly good reading, well spiced and sweetened with wit and humor. Congratulations! That's the proper diet.

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"But, oh, good Lord, the verse you [take],
It gives a chap the belly-ache."

Consider the Swan song (no funereal implications): I met the lady in the first line, lost her in the second. Finally I concluded that "who" (with verbs "sits," "hears") must refer to "thee." One of the first things I ever learned about relative pronouns is that they must match the antecedent in number *and person*!

Moaning low, I proceeded. A pulpit "sings" (bellowing revivalist "lining out" strange so-called hymns to his victims: drab image from boyhood). I groaned and went on.

Harmony sat down in silence and prayed; then the lady was asked to be "deep music," and the author gave her the key, which was brought in by "softer aspiration" (hard customer usually), perhaps on a bit of music manuscript.

Utterly baffled, I staggered on to the last line. I gave up. Was I to connect "begin" with the auxiliary in "I'll" or was it an imperative? Against the first militated the promise to be "mute," as well as the discourtesy of bursting into song during the "deep music" of the lady. But the second alternative seemed impossible: a beginning had long since been made with the "music."

As for "Advice to the Lost," *there's* one person to whom, in case I get lost, I'll never apply for directions. Heaven knows where I'd land, especially if I went "farther than you can go."

Oh, Helicon! Oh, Apollo! Oh, Mumbo Jumbo!

Asa M. Hughes
Lansdale, Pennsylvania

★ ★ ★

In response to Mr. Hughes's letter:

a. "Thee" followed by a third person singular verb (Thee sits, Thee hears, Is thee well?) as used by American Quakers is as ungrammatical as you find it.

b. If that singing pulpit of mine calls up to you drab boyhood images with bellowing revivalists, it is easier, but it isn't more necessary, to change the word instead of your reminiscing.

c. "I'll" connects with "begin."

d. You are right. "Mute," as being caught speechless but not absolutely music-less, is confusing.

Jon Swan
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Moral Codes

Max Eastman in "The Cardinal Virtues" [AS: Winter, 1953-54] does an interesting job of constructing a moral code without appeal to divine sanction. I should like to suggest at least two considerations which seem not to have occurred to him.

First, he terms the teachings of Jesus a "code" among other codes of virtue. The grouping by subject of the teachings of Jesus in our New Testament (which scholarship has shown does not correspond to his actual practice) has led to the inference that his precepts are so many rules which are to be obeyed to the letter and that his purpose was to construct a moral code. When so regarded they are often impracticable and cover only a small portion of the field of human activity. Jesus, rather, pronounced principles. Man was left free to apply them in particular cases. He emphasized the fact that he was an announcer of principles, and not a giver of laws, by pushing his precepts out beyond all possibility of literal fulfillment, as well as by speaking in parables. Jesus gave spiritual truths which followed from his conception of God, not a code to be obeyed because of divine sanction.

Second, there is a complete lack of ultimate support for "good behavior" in Mr. Eastman's system. For example, in basing the reason for mindfulness of others upon the need of such experience to "reach our own stature," we have a sadly inadequate support. If the value of the other individual rests on so narrow a base, we might decide with Hitler that the existence of certain individuals or even an entire ethnic group is not needed for us to "reach our own stature." With Jesus each person is to be respected because each person is loved of God.

J. McRee Elrod
Athens, Georgia

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